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An historical account of
covenanting in Scotland

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

COVENANTING IN SCOTLAND.

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AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

COVENANTING IN SCOTLAND,

FROM THE FIRST BAND IN MEARN'S, 1556,

TO THE SIGNATURE OF

THE GRAND NATIONAL COVENANT, 1638.

✓
BY JAMES AIKMAN, Esq.,

AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, ETC.

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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT, &c.

THE gospel appears to have been very early introduced into Scotland. The Church there received the Christian faith a little after the days of our Saviour, in the reign of Domitian, as it is thought, from some of John's disciples, which was by them committed to faithful men, who were nothing acquainted either with the glory of a hierarchy or man's tyranny over conscience; and was a chaste virgin some centuries of years before she had the least correspondence with Rome, or ever heard of the notion of a bishop distinct from, or superior to, an ordinary pastor. Her ministers were called Culdees. When this name was first imposed cannot now be ascertained—its etymology is uncertain;* but Dr. Jamieson appears to come pretty near the fact,

* Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, after saying that he had not met with the word in this form in any author, before the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, observes: "Then it was a very usual thing to find out Latin derivations for those words of which men did not know the original; and thus the *Kyldees* or *Kylledei* came to be called *Culdei* or *Colidei*, that is, the worshippers of God, being such as spent their whole time, or a great part of it, in devotion. The origin assigned by O'Brien is certainly very plausible. In Irish, he says, it is *Ceile De*, from *ceile*—a servant, and *De*—God. Toland contends that it is from the original Irish or Scottish word, *ceile-de*, signifying *separated* or *espoused to God*. It has also been derived from the notion of their retreat and seclusion: the original Celtic word *cel*—a shelter, plural, *Celydi*.—*Jamieson's Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees*, pp. 4, 5.

when he says : “ We may safely assume that there must have been a considerable number of Christians in the northern part of our island, about the time assigned to the reign of a prince designated Donald I., that is, towards the close of the second century. For Tertullian, who flourished in this age, asserts that the gospel had not only been propagated in Britain, but had reached those parts of the island into which the Roman army had never penetrated.” The successors of these early evangelists continued “ discharging the office of an ordinary country pastor—instructing the people in the simplicity of the gospel,” till “ the Pope sent his factor into Scotland to accommodate it into his model in hierarchy and rites, which two are the vitals of the Romish religion ; but both he and his successors were opposed by these godly men with pious zeal, equally in the one and in the other, for many a year thereafter, till near the fourteenth century, when, through the influence of the Pope and the negligence of the king, they were entirely suppress ; yet was not the gospel suppress in Scotland, the Lord raised up for himself in their place another band of witnesses—the Lollards of Kyle.* A singular proof of the providence of God, in preserving the truth in our native country, even during the time that the Man of Sin was reigning with absolute authority over the other nations of Europe ; and in transmitting some of its most important articles, at least, nearly to the time of its breaking forth with renewed lustre at

* Lollards—a religious sect, who separated from the Church of Rome in 1315 ; so named from their leader, Walter Lollard, burnt at Cologne, 1322. This epithet was applied as a term of reproach to all heretics, previous to the appearance of Luther.

the Reformation.” John Knox, who was honoured to be one of the chief instruments employed in this important work, in a letter to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Bowes, thus describes the state of the country, immediately previous to the entering into the *first* of those religious bonds or COVENANTS, by which the confederation of the Protestants in Scotland was so frequently ratified :—

“ The wayis of man ar not in his awn power. Albeit my journey toward Scotland, belovit mother, was maist contrarious to my awn judgement befoir I did interprys the same ; yet this day I prais God for thame wha was the cause externall of my resort to their quarteris : that is, I prais God in yow, and for yow, whom hie maid the instrument to draw me from the den of my awn eas, (you allane did draw me from the rest of quyet studie,) to contemplat and behald the fervent thirst of oure bretherene, night and day, sobbing and gronyng for the breid of lyfe. Gif I had not sene it with my eis, in my awn contry, I culd not beleveit it ! I praisit God when I was with you, perceaving that in the middis of Sodome, God had mo Lottis than one, and ma faithfull dochteris than tua. But the fervencie heir doith fer exceid all utheris that I have seen. And thairfoir ye sall pacientlie bear, altho’ I spend heir yet sum dayis ; for depart I cannot, unto sic tyme as God quenche thair thirst a litill. Yea, mother, thair fervencie doith sa ravische me that I can not but accus and condemp my sleauthfull coldnes. God grant them thair hartis desyre ; and I pray yow advertteis [me] of your estait, and of thingis that have occurit sense your last wrytting. Comfort yourself in Godis prommissis,

and be assureit that God steiris up mo friendis than we be war of. My commendation to all in your company. I commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent. In great haist : the 4th of November, 1555. From Scotland. Your son Johne Knox.”

About this time, Mr. Erskine, of Dun, invited the Reformer to accompany him to his family seat in Angus, where he remained for a month, preaching every day, and had among his hearers the principal personages in that neighbourhood. On his return to the south, in the beginning of the year 1556, he accompanied Lockhart of Bar, and Campbell of Kineancleugh, to Kyle, the ancient residence of the Scottish Lollards, and there preached in several of the gentlemen’s houses, observing the ordinance of the Lord’s supper, of which a number of the nobility participated ; among whom, the Earl of Glencairn, his lady, and two of his sons, were particularly noticed. He remained not long here, however, but soon paid another visit to the north.

A majority of the chief men of Mearns, who at this time made profession of the reformed religion, after sitting down at the Lord’s table, entered into a solemn and mutual bond, in which they renounced the Popish communion, and engaged to maintain the true preaching of the gospel, according as Providence should favour them with opportunity. “ This,” Dr. M’Crie remarks, “ seems to have been the first of these religious bonds or *Covenants*, by which the confederation of the Protestants of Scotland was so frequently ratified ;” * and he adds in a note : “ The silver cups which were used

FIRST
COVENANT.
1559.

* Life of Knox, p. 150.

on this occasion are still carefully preserved by the family of Glencairn, at Finlayston. The parish of Kilmacolm is favoured with the use of them at the time of dispensing the sacrament." Perhaps there is nothing that shows more powerfully the great advantage of early religious instruction than this fact: that amongst all those who have been honoured to be the greatest blessings to their country or the world, have been those who, *early* in life, have been called to ministrate in the work of the Lord. In early life, Lord Lorn, afterwards the remarkable and distinguished Earl of Argyle; the Master of Mar, afterwards the much loved Earl of Mar; and that name which stands so high in his country's annals, Lord James Stewart, (natural son of *James V.*) afterwards Earl of Moray, were almost all early religiously instructed; and owed that instruction to female tuition, or female superintendence upon their early tuition. Of this original bond I apprehend nothing more can now be known than what is mentioned by Knox in his history, and noticed (as above) by Dr. M'Crie; it was followed up, however, in 1556 [or 1557,]* by a similar COVENANT in the following terms:—

“ We, perceiving how Satan, in his members, the antichrists of our time, cruelly do rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the gospel of Christ and his congregations,

* In our writers of this period there is often a variety of dates for the same action, which has occasioned confusion, by their successors not attending to the circumstance that there were two annual dates, between which there was a difference of twelve months, and that some reckoned by the one and some by the other. The difference is not essential, but it deserves to be noticed, as attention to this frequently reconciles apparent inconsistencies.

gation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to strive in our Master's cause, even unto the death, being certain of victory in Him: The which our duty being well considered, We do promise before the Majesty of God and His congregation that we—by His grace—shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance, and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish *The most blessed word of God and His congregation*: And shall labour, according to our power, to have faithful ministers truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them: the whole congregation of Christ, and every member thereof, according to our whole powers and waging of our lives against Satan, and all wicked power that doth intend tyranny or trouble against the foresaid congregation. Unto the which holy word and congregation, We do join us; and so do forsake and renounce the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitions, abominations, and idolatry thereof. And, moreover, shall declare ourselves manifest enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God, testified to this congregation by our subscriptions to these presents."

"At Edinburgh, the third day of December, Anno 1557, God called to witness."

Before subscription, the Lords and Barons came to a resolution that the common prayer with the Lessons out of the Old and New Testament should be read in every Parish Church, upon the Lord's Day, publicly; but that preaching should not be public till authorized by the Queen Regent, who then governed. In order to

obtain this, they immediately despatched Sir James Sandilands, of Calder, with their petition to her, praying that any qualified person being present when the Common Prayers were read, might be allowed “to open up, or interpret in the vulgar tongue any hard place of the Scripture where it should occur; that the sacrament of Baptism should be administered in the vulgar tongue, as also the Lord’s Supper, which should likewise be served in both kinds, according to Christ’s injunction;” and finally, “that the slanderous and detestable lives of the prelates and state ecclesiastical might be reformed.”

The Queen Regent received them graciously, and as she was exceedingly desirous to obtain the crown matrimonial for the Dauphin of France, then married to her daughter, Queen Mary, and wished to secure their concurrence in the ensuing Parliament, returned a gracious answer, permitting them to proceed according to their wishes, provided they held no public assemblies in Edinburgh or Leith, and promised to assist them in the maintenance of their preachers till some regular parliamentary endowment were obtained. They departed from her presence highly delighted, and as a proof of their inclination to promote peace and quiet, ordered one of their most popular preachers, Mr. John Douglas, (sometimes surnamed Grant,) to be silenced—a person of high and honourable birth, descended from the family of Douglas of Pittendreich, formerly domestic chaplain to the Earl of Argyle, who then preached, and was gathering public assemblies of the people at Edinburgh and Leith.

When the Convention of Estates met, in the month of December, Commissioners were appointed to proceed to Paris, to be present at the marriage of their young Queen with the Dauphin; the persons chosen to compose it were eight. For the Spiritual Estate—James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, and James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, the Queen's natural brother; for the Nobility—Gilbert Kennedy, Earl of Cassils, George Leslie, Earl of Rothes, and James Lord Fleming; for the Burgesses—George Lord Seaton, Provost of Edinburgh, and John Areskine, of Dun, Provost of Montrose. They sailed from Leith for France, in the month of February 1558, and experienced most disastrous weather, in which one of the vessels was lost, with all the furniture for the marriage, which was very rich and costly; nor was the expedition less disastrous to the embassy—the Earl of Rothes, the Earl of Cassils, and the Lord Fleming all died in France, and being all friendly to the Protestant cause it was strongly suspected that they had been poisoned, especially as they did not carry with them the matrimonial crown for the Dauphin, at which his father was highly displeased. The survivors returned home in October the same year.

The absence of so many of the influential reformers seems to have stimulated the Romanist Priests to fresh exertions against the Reformers, (the Congregation), especially Mr. John Douglas, whom Archbishop Hamilton was exceedingly desirous to have in his hands; but whom he knew it was in vain to think of taking by force from the Earl of Argyle; he therefore endea-

voured to persuade the Earl to dismiss him from his service. In a correspondence carried on for this purpose, March 1558, he reminded the Earl of the high antiquity of his house, for which he expressed his great love and his desire that it should ever continue prosperous and free from blemish ; but he was surprised that so noble a man should be seduced by a perjured apostate, and lamented that in his old age he should waver from the faith when he ought to be more than ever conformed to it ; he represented that Douglas was chargeable with heresy, and with spreading pestilential doctrines ; and therefore he wished that the Earl would put him from his company, and from the company of his son in some honest way ; and that if he did it not, danger would arise to him, his son, and their friends. He also represented that as Primate of the Church of Scotland and Legate-a-Latere, all the evils of Douglas's heretical doctrines would be laid to his charge before God, because of his having so long refrained from correcting such a man ; upon which account his conscience was sorely troubled, and many persons blamed him for the lenity he had hitherto exercised. " If your Lordship," continued the Archbishop, " desire a man to instruct you truly in the faith, I will provide a cunning* man, and shall put my soul thereon that he shall teach nothing but what is truly according to our Catholic Faith." The Earl greatly thanked the Archbishop for the love which he professed towards him and his house, but he feared no danger, for he had always been true to his Prince and his God, adding, " as to my being se-

* Clever—skilful.

duced by a man-sworn apostate, may the God who created the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein, preserve me from being so seduced ; but I dread there are many who under the colour of godliness, are so far seduced as to think that they do God a pleasure when they persecute those who profess his name. If this man, Mr. Douglas," continued he, "made an unlawful oath, viz., to the Popish Church, it were better for him to violate it than to observe it. He preaches nothing but the Evangel ; and if he were to preach any other doctrine we would not believe him—nay, not even an angel from heaven. We hear no flattery from him ; he sows no schism or divisions but such as may stand with God's word, which we shall cause him to confess in the presence of your Lordship, and of the other clergy when you shall require him thereto. My Lord, I waver not in my faith, but I praise God, who, in his goodness to me in my latter days, has in his infinite mercy revealed his grace, making me to acknowledge his Son Jesus Christ to be one sufficient satisfaction and to refuse all manner of idolatry. I cannot put away this man without his being an offender, and I cannot well want him or some other preacher. Your Lordship says you will send me one to instruct me in the true Catholic Faith. God Almighty send us many of that sort, who will teach us the true faith and nothing else.—We Highland rude people have need of them, for the harvest is great, and there are but few labourers. If your Lordship will provide me such a man I will provide him a corporal living ; and I am able to maintain more than one. If your

Lordship shall please to call this man to confess to you his faith, and to show you how far it is agreeable to the Evangel of Jesus Christ, I will cause him to attend, will assist at the judgement, and with God's pleasure, be present thereat, that he may render reckoning of his and our doctrine." The Archbishop Hamilton, according to Spottiswood, was a person of dissolute morals, which the Earl pointedly alluded to in his concluding remarks on Mr. Douglas's doctrine :—" This man," says he, " preaches against idolatry ; I remit to your Lordship's conscience if that be heresy or not. He preaches against adultery and fornication ; I refer that to your Lordship's conscience. He preaches against all abuses and corrupting of Christ's sincere religion ; I refer that to your Lordship's conscience. My Lord, I exhort you, in Christ's name, to weigh all these affairs in your conscience, and to consider if it be your duty not only to thole (to suffer) or permit the sethings, but in like manner to do the same. This is all, my Lord, in which I vary in my old age, and in no other thing ; for I knew not before these offences to be abominable to God, but now, knowing his will by the manifestation of his word, I abhor them."

The venerable Earl did not long survive this correspondence ; he died in August the same year. Knox thus mentions his death :—" Shortly after this, the Lord called to himself the said Earl of Argyle from the misery of this life ; whereof the Bishops were glad, for they thought that their great enemy was taken away. But God disappointed them ; for as the said Earl departed most constant in the true faith of Jesus Christ,

with a plain renunciation of all impiety, superstition, and idolatry, so he left it in his testament to his son that he should study to set forward the public and true preaching of the Evangel of Jesus Christ, and to suppress all superstition and idolatry to the uttermost of his power. In which point, small fault can be found with him to this day, the 10th of May, 1568."

Disappointed in getting hold of Mr. Douglas, the Archbishop determined to wreak his vengeance on Walter Mill, an aged priest, who having ceased attending mass, became suspected of holding "the new opinions;" and he caused two of his own priests, Sir George Strachan and Sir Hugh Torry, to apprehend him, which they did, in Dysart, and committed him to the castle of St. Andrews, where he was earnestly dealt with, in order to induce him to recant and acknowledge his errors. He continued, however, steadfast; and was in consequence, ordered to stand trial before a court, composed of the Bishops of St. Andrews, Moray, Brechin, Caithness, and Athens; the Abbots of Dunfermline, Lindores, Balmerinoch, and Cowper; Dean John Winrame, Sub-Prior; John Grison, a black friar; Mr. William Cranston, Provost of the College, and several other Doctors of the University. When he came into the church, where the court was held, he was obliged to be led to the place where he was appointed to stand; he looked so feeble, partly by age and fatigue, and partly by ill-treatment, that it was supposed no one would be able to hear what he should answer: yet, no sooner did he begin to speak, than he delivered himself with a readiness of reply and an ele-

vation of voice which amazed his enemies. Having knelt to pray, Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the Archbishop's priests, when ordering him to answer to the charges brought against him, addressed him thus:—"Sir Walter Mill, get up and answer, for you keep my lords here too long." He continued, however, still to kneel till he had finished his devotions. When done, he arose and said, "We ought to obey God rather than man; I serve a mightier Lord than your Lord is. And when you call me Sir Walter, they call me Walter, not Sir Walter; I have been too long one of the Pope's knights. Now, say what you have to say." Oliphant then asked him—"What thinkest thou of priests' marriage?" He answered—"I esteem it a blessed bond ordained by God, approved by Christ, and made free to all sorts of men; but you abhor it, and in the meantime, take other men's wives and daughters—you vow chastity, and keep it not." Oliphant then proceeded—"Thou sayest that there is not seven sacraments." Mill replied—"Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptism, and take you the rest and part them amongst you." Oliphant—"Thou sayest that the mass is idolatry." Mill—"A lord sendeth and calleth many to his dinner, and when it is ready, ringeth the bell, and they come unto the hall; but he, turning his back upon the guests, eateth all himself, giving them no part—and so do you." Oliphant—"Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the body of Christ really in flesh and blood." Mill—"The Scripture is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually; and your mass is wrong: for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's sins, and will never be

offered again—for then he put an end to all sacrifices.” Oliphant—“Thou deniest the office of a bishop.” Mill—“I affirm they whom you call bishops do not bishops’ works, nor use the offices of bishops, but live after their own sensual pleasures, taking no care for the flock, nor yet regarding the word of God.” Oliphant—“Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and callest it pilgrimage to whoredom.” Mill—“I say that pilgrimage is not commanded in the Scripture ; and that there is no greater whoredom in any place than in your pilgrimages, except it be in the common brothels.” Oliphant—“Thou preachest privately in houses, and sometimes in the fields.” Mill—“Yea, man ; and upon the sea, too, when I am sailing.” Oliphant—“If thou wilt not recant thy opinions, I will pronounce sentence against thee.” Mill—“I know I must die once ; therefore, as Christ said to Judas, ‘*Quod facis fac cito*’ [what thou doest, do quickly]. You shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, and no chaff : I will neither be blown away with the wind nor burst with the flail, but will abide both.”

This frank and courageous avowal of his sentiments by the accused in such a court, was pleading guilty to the charge of heresy ; and Oliphant accordingly pronounced sentence, ordaining him to be delivered over to the temporal judge, and burned as an heretic. Protestant principles had, however, now so much gained ground on public opinion, that the Bailiff of the Regality absolutely refused to sit as a temporal judge ; nor in the whole city could any one be found who would produce a cord, or even sell one, for money, so that his

life was prolonged for a day. Next morning, a domestic of the Archbishop's, Alexander Somervale, "a wicked and flagitious man," acting as judge, condemned him to the flames; and the ropes of the Archbishop's pavilion were used to bind the martyr. When brought to the place of execution, by a number of armed men, the priest ordered him to go to the stake. "No!" said he, "I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hand, for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hand to myself; but wilt thou put to thy hand and take part in my death, thou shalt see me go up gladly."

On which, Oliphant pushing him forward, he went up with a cheerful countenance, saying, "*Introibo ad altare Dei*," [I will go to the altar of God,] and desired he might be permitted to speak to the people. Oliphant told him he had spoken too much already, and that the bishops were displeased at the delay; and the executioners interfering, some young men, desiring both executioners and bishops to go to the devil, expressed their wish that he should speak what he chose. He then knelt, and after offering up a prayer, arose and spake thus to the people—"Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge, though I acknowledge myself a miserable sinner before God, but only for the defence of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testaments, for which so many faithful martyrs have offered their lives most gladly, being assured, after their death, to enjoy endless felicity; so this day I praise God that he hath called me of his mercy, amongst the rest of his servants, to seal up his truth with my life, which as I have received of

him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore, if you would escape eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of the priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of antichrist ; but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that you may be delivered from condemnation." The spectators looked on, weeping, and "made a great lamentation, for they were exceedingly moved with his address." His last words, when the flames kindled around him, were—"Lord, have mercy on me ! pray, good people, whilst there is time."

This was the last martyr that died in Scotland for religion under the Papacy ; "and his death," remarks Spottiswood, "was the very death of Popery in this realme. The citizens," he adds, "took his death so grievously that, lest it should be forgotten, they made up a great heap of stones in the place where his body was burnt ; and when the priests had caused the heap twice or thrice to be carried away, denouncing such as should bring any stones thither accursed, still it was renewed, until watches were appointed to see who they were that brought any stones to the place, and charge given to apprehend them. The Lords of the Congregation complained to the Queen Regent, who promised to call the Archbishop to account for his conduct, for she imputed the whole transaction to him, but she never proceeded farther in the matter. As, however, the meeting of Parliament approached, and she was eagerly desirous to obtain their consent to grant the matrimonial crown to the Dauphin, she was very liberal in her promises, and assured them if that could be

accomplished, she would accede to whatever they wished with regard to religion ; they, therefore, were the most zealous in forwarding her object. In Parliament all went smoothly, the wishes of the French king were gratified, and a treaty of peace concluded between France, England, and Scotland ; but, as soon as it arose, the Queen Regent, supposing there was no longer any necessity for dissembling, began to show a very altered countenance to the professors of the gospel. She ordered the Easter Communion to be celebrated, and strictly enjoined all the people to attend mass, especially at Montrose, Dundee, and Perth, and all the places where the principles of the Reformers had taken effect, and were openly avowed. But this being decidedly refused, she got highly enraged, and ordered all the preachers to be summoned to compear at Stirling, the tenth of May 1559. The professors of Dundee, and the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, accompanied their preachers, intending to make open confession of their holding similar principles, and to defend them in case of any attack upon their persons, but proceeded no further than Perth, being stopped on their journey by a messenger from the Regent, who met them with fair speeches, to which they gave full credit ; meanwhile, the preachers not appearing at the day appointed were denounced as rebels.

At this critical juncture, Mr. John Knox most opportunely arrived. He had intended to come through England, and to visit his friends, with whom he had held communion when all were in exile at Geneva, but could not obtain a passport from Elizabeth, who now

reigned, as she was highly offended with his "First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women." He, therefore, came home by sea, and landed at Leith on the 2d of May, whence he went with all expedition to St. Johnston (Perth) to assist his brethren, and give confession of his faith with them. In one of his earliest sermons (if not his first) he inveighed against the veneration of images, and declared what commandments God had given for the destruction of all the monuments of idolatry as tending to his dishonour; and that such idols and monuments of superstition as were erected in churches ought to be pulled down, they being offensive to all good and godly people.

The sermon being ended, and the better sort gone to dinner, a priest, opening "a glorious tabernacle,"* standing above the high altar, preparing in contempt to say mass, a young boy cried out, "This is intolerable;" on which the priest gave him a blow; and the boy, in return, lifting a stone, threw it at the priest, but missing him, it hit the tabernacle, and broke down an image; "whereupon a great stirre was presently raised, some of the common sort falling upon the priest, others running to the altar and breaking down the images, so as in a moment all was pulled down in the church that carried any mark of idolatry, before a tenth man in the town knew anything of the matter; but so soon as this was noised abroad, the rascal multitude assembled, and finding nothing to do in the kirk, they ran to the monasteries, and invading the cloysters, made

* A great case, wherein was the historie of divers saints, exquisitly carved.—*Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 121.

spoile of all they found therein." The Franciscans had store of provision, both of victuals and of household stuff; the Dominicans, though not quite so well provided, had yet sufficient to show that the profession they made of poverty was not remarkably well founded; the Carthusians surpassed both in wealth, yet was the Prior permitted to carry off the gold and silver plate; nor did any of the respectable citizens touch an article, but rather allowed the monks and friars to take away as much as they could of their property.

Tidings of these horrible sacrileges being brought to the Queen Regent, she vowed that she would devote the town to utter destruction, and salt it with salt, in token of perpetual desolation. The Congregation treating this menace as a mere ebullition of angry feeling returned to their homes, and left John Knox at Perth to instruct the inhabitants, considering them "but yet young and rude in Christ." The Queen Regent, however, denounced them as rebels, and prepared to carry her threats into execution. The Lords of the Congregation prepared to meet her, and being reinforced, were able to present so formidable a front, that the Queen Regent considered it expedient to enter into an arrangement with them, by which it was agreed that none of the inhabitants should be called to account for the destruction of the monasteries, that no one should be interrupted in the exercise of his religion, and the preaching of the gospel should be left free. Yet, to show the sincerity of their desires for peace, and their willingness to render all due obedience to the Queen Regent in other matters, they consented to withdraw

from the place, and to allow her to enter the town, and depart at her pleasure, only she should bring no French soldiers with her.*

SECOND
COVENANT.
—
1559.

Before separating, the Congregations of the West and of the North, again entered into Covenant together, “according to the good hand and spirit of God upon his servants, in these words :—

“At Perth, the last day of May, the year of God 1559, the Congregations of the West country, with the Congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundee, Angus, Mearnes, and Montrose, being convened in the towne of Perth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for setting forth of his glory, understanding nothing more necessary for the same than to keep a constant amity and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged in the presence of God to concur and assist together in doing all things required of God in his Scripture that may be to his glory, and at thair whole powers to destroy and put away all things that doth dishonour to his name, so that God may be truley and purely worshipped. And in case that any trouble be intended against the said Congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole Congregation shall concur, assist, and convene together to the defence of the same Congregation or persons troubled ; and shall not spare labours, goods, substance, bodies, and lives in maintaining the liberty of the whole Congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever person shall intend the said trouble

* All Scottish men receiving foreign pay were counted French soldiers ; and such were many in the Regent’s army.

for cause of religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or layed to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause.”

On the very day on which the above agreement was signed, and the Congregation had left Perth, the Queen Regent entered the town with her troops, and, in direct violation of what the Lords had considered one of the principal articles, brought some French soldiers along with her. Their entrance was marked by an act of wanton cruelty : in passing the house of Patrick Murray, a citizen distinguished for his zeal in support of the reformed religion, a shot was fired, which killed his son, a boy of about thirteen years of age, who was looking at the Regent's army. The body of the murdered child was brought and laid before her lodging; when informed of the unhappy incident, her unfeeling remark was—“ The case was to be pitied ; and the more so, that it had fallen on the son and not on the father ; but she could not help misfortunes.” When reminded that she had engaged not to bring any French soldiers with her, she replied—“ Promises were not to be kept with heretics ; and, besides, Princes ought not to have their promises so strictly urged.”

Such deceitful conduct excited universal indignation among the people, and proved the ruin of her own government, for the Earl of Argyle, and Lord James Stewart, who had negociated the pacification, considering their honour stained by this breach of the terms, forsook her, and went over to the Congregation, declaring “ they would have no more meddling in such dis-

honest courses, but do their best to repair the mischief." Apprehending that the Regent, displeased with their conduct, might make some sudden attempt against the cause, they requested a general meeting of the Lords ; and all who favoured the true religion, in the counties of Angus and Mearnes, to meet at St. Andrews, early in June.

In the meanwhile, they themselves went to Crail, where John Knox at this time was, whither all the professors, to whom they could send notice, also came. Here they were addressed by Knox, who, in a sermon, reminded them how he had warned them at Perth against trusting to the Regent's promises, as there was no sincerity in her dealing, nor would any of the conditions agreed upon be kept. This they had now found to be the case ; he, therefore, advised them to be no longer deluded by fair speeches, seeing there was no peace to be hoped for at their hands, who paid no regard to the contracts they had solemnly sworn to observe ; and as there would be no rest till one of the parties were masters, and all strangers expelled the kingdom, he exhorted them to quit themselves like men resolved to prove victorious or die.

The hearers, being highly excited by this address, immediately pulled down the altars and images, and destroyed all the monuments abused to idolatry in the town. Next day a similar scene took place at Anstruther. From thence they came directly to St. Andrews, where they arrived on the 9th of June.

The Archbishop, hearing of what they had done in the coast towns, and apprised of Knox's design to

preach in his cathedral, assembled an armed force, and sent him notice that if he mounted his pulpit he would order his soldiers to fire. The noblemen, thereupon, would have persuaded him to desist, but he intrepidly replied to their solicitations : That he could take God to witness that he never preached in contempt of any man, nor with the design of hurting an earthly creature ; but to delay to preach that day (unless forcibly hindered) he could not in conscience agree. In that town, and in that church, had God first raised him to the dignity of a preacher : and from it he had been *reft* by French tyranny, at the instigation of the Scottish bishops. The length of his imprisonment, and the tortures which he had endured, he could not at present recite ; but one thing he could not conceal, that, in the hearing of many yet alive, he had expressed his confident hope of again preaching at St. Andrews. Now, therefore, when Providence, beyond all men's expectations, had brought him to that place, he besought them not to hinder him, adding, " As for the fear of danger that may come to me, let no man be solicitous ; for my life is in the custody of him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me. I only crave audience ; which if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek where I may have it."

Next day, being Sunday, Knox preached in the parish kirk, taking for his subject, our Saviour's casting the buyers and sellers out of the temple, and applying the corruption which was at that time in Jerusalem to the then present state of the Church in Scotland, he took occasion to expose the enormous corruptions which

had been introduced into the Church under the Papacy and to point out what was incumbent upon Christians in their different spheres for removing them. The excitation occasioned by this discourse was as great as by his former, and similar consequences followed ; “ the auditors,” as soon as the sermon was ended, went all and made spoil of the churches, razing the monasteries of the Black and the Grey Friars to the ground.

Immediately the Queen Regent ordered the French troops to march upon St. Andrews, and issued a proclamation summoning all loyal subjects to attend her in arms next morning at Coupar. The Lords of the Congregation on receiving intelligence of the proposed array, anticipated her Majesty, and that same night went thither, though their force only amounted to about one hundred horse and about as many foot, but such was the enthusiasm of the people that before ten o'clock next morning the “ gathering” mustered more than three thousand men. The Earl of Rothes and Lord Ruthven were accompanied by many of the Lothian gentlemen. The Lairds of Calder, Ormiston, Restalrig, Hatton, and Colston were slenderly attended, as they had only received short notice, but their presence did greatly encourage the others, while the inhabitants of Dundee, St. Andrews, and Coupar showed the greatest boldness and heart in the camp. Early on Monday morning, the troops of the Congregation were drawn up on the west side of the moor, under the direction of Mr. James Halyburton, provost of Dundee, a man of much experience and greatly esteemed both for valour and talents. The Queen Regent’s army, the French

commanded by Mons. D'Osell, and the Scots by the Duke of Chattellerault, (Hamilton,) drawn up in order of battle, halted on the opposite banks of a small river, but the morning was so foggy that they could not see one another, and were thus prevented from engaging.

When the air began to clear the French sent spies to ascertain the strength of the Congregation, who, perceiving a number of servants and others assembled behind the troops, reported at their return that they were much more formidable than they really were ; at the same time the Scots in the Regent's army showed a spirit of mutiny, many openly declaring that they would not fight against their friends and countrymen for the pleasure of strangers ; she expressed to the Lords a desire for some arrangement, and truce was entered into at Garlibank, 13th of June 1559, for eight days, till commissioners should be appointed with sufficient powers to conclude a solid peace ; meanwhile the French should be withdrawn.

The Lords then returned to Coupar, and dismissing the multitude proceeded to St. Andrews, where the meeting was to be held ; no messengers however from the Regent made their appearance, but complaints being brought daily from Perth of the oppressions the townsmen suffered from the Laird of Kinfauns, whom the Queen Regent had forced upon them as provost, the Earl of Argyle and Lord James Stewart wrote to her Majesty complaining of her breach of agreement, when, receiving no answer, they laid siege to Perth, which surrendered after a very short show of resistance, and the inhabitants cheerfully rejoined the Congregation.

Next day, a message was sent by the Lords to the Bishop of Moray (Patrick Hepburn), who was residing in Scone Abbey, and had threatened Perth, that unless he came in to them they could not promise that his palace would be secure. To this warning no attention was paid, whereupon the men of Dundee, who were highly incensed against the bishop for his violent conduct towards Walter Mill, marched off for Scone ; a party was sent after them to prevent mischief, but upon their arrival at the place, finding the church filled with clerical treasure, which had been brought there for preservation, the multitude could not be stayed till the ornaments of the church were destroyed—yet the Lords so far succeeded, that for that night the church and palace were spared ; but on the following day, some few persons going to look after what had been done, were rudely attacked by the bishop's servants, and one, it was said, run through with a rapier, by a son of the bishop, because he happened to look in at the girkel-door. The people re-assembled highly enraged and were easily excited to set fire to the palace, and quickly reduced the ancient residence of our Scottish Kings to a mutilated ruin.

Many were offended, when an ancient woman, hearing them take it so ill, said :—“ Now I see God's judgments are just, and that no man can save where God will punish ; since I remember, this place has been nothing else but a den of whoremongers ; it is incredible how many wives have been abused and young women deflowered by these filthy beasts, which have been fostered in this den, especially by that wicked man who

is called the bishop ; if every man knew all as well as I, they would praise God and no man would be offended." Next morning all the monasteries in Stirling were likewise levelled, and all the altars and images in the churches in the town and neighbourhood defaced ; at the same time the Abbey of Cambuskenneth was cast down. After resting three days, on the fourth the Lords marched for Edinburgh, and taking Linlithgow in their way, treated the monasteries there in a similar manner.

A rumour of their approach having reached the capital, Lord Seton, the provost, who had undertaken the protection of the Black and Grey Friars, abandoned his charge and left all to the mercy of the multitude, who, before the arrival of the Lords, had demolished every monastery within the town, and carried off every moveable of value they could lay their hands on. The Queen Regent, when apprised of the formidable array of the Congregation, and perceiving that but little reliance could be placed upon the native Scots in her army, endeavoured to disunite the leaders : of this the Lords were aware, and in order to counteract her attempts, before leaving Stirling on the 1st of August, entered into a new "bond," or "covenant," in the following terms :—" We foreseeing the craft and slight of our adversaries, who try all ways to circumvene us, and by privy means intend to assault every one of us, particularly by fair heights and promises, thereby to separate us one from another to our utter ruin and destruction : for remedy thereof we faithfully and truly bind us in the presence of God, and as we tender the maintaining

of true religion, that none of us shall in time coming pass to the Queen Dowager to talk or commune with her, for any letter or message sent by her unto us, or yet to be sent without consent of the rest or common consultation thereupon ; and how soon either writing or message shall come from her unto us, with all diligence we shall notify the same one to another, so that nothing shall proceed therein without common consent of us all." They then appointed the next meeting to be held at Stirling, September 10th, and then parted.

Previously to their meeting, Lord James had received two letters of similar import from the King and Queen of France, which he now resolved to answer. The letter from his Majesty was as follows :—

“ From the King of France, to James, Prior of St. Andrews.

“ COUSIN,—When I understand, as well by letters as by common report, the tumults raised at this time in Scotland, I was much commoved ; especially when it was said that you, to whom my dear wife, my father deceased, and myself have given so many benefices, should be the head and principal fosterer of the same. That you should be so forgetful of our love, and of the duty you have at all times professed unto the Queen, I would not believe ; or if it was so, as the fame commonly reporteth, I did think that you were induced, by the promises and flattering persuasions of others, to take the fault upon you, whereof they were the cause, supposing the offence would be esteemed either none or very small in your person. This my conceit

of you, if it be true, shall be as joyfull to me as that which should be most joyfull ; for I should wish, by this means, some part of my displeasure mitigated, into which you are worthily fallen, having deceived the hope which I had of your piety towards God, and your faithful service towards myself. Therefore, since nothing can be more acceptable to me than to hear that controversies are composed, and all things compacted without tumult, according to law and good order ; and since I am persuaded this may be easily done by your credit, I thought meet to advertise you by these letters ; and for the good will I bear you, I do earnestly request that you will return to the obedience from which you have foully fallen, that so I may see you carry another mind than that which your foolish actions have manifested. * This will appear to be so, if you apply your diligence to bring these things, which now are out of order in those parts, back again to the ancient and sound form of obedience which you know is due to God and me. Otherwise, I would have you, and all those that adhere unto you, perswaded that, ere it be long, I shall take such punishment of you and them as your wickedness deserveth, which I have given the bearer charge to make known unto you at more length, whom I will you to credit as myself, praying God, my Cousin, to have you in his protection. Paris, the 17 day of July, 1559."

To this epistle, Lord James returned the following answer, which was shown by the ambassador first to the Queen Regent :—

“SIR,—My most humble duty remembered ; your

Majesty's letter I received from Paris, July 17, importing in effect that your Majesty doth marvel that I, being forgetful of the graces and favours shewed me by the King of bl. memory, your Ma. self, and the Queen my sovereign, have declared myself head, and one of the principal beginners of these alledged tumults and seditions in those parts, deceiving hereby your Majesty's expectation in all times had of me, with assurance that if I do not declare by contrary effect my repentance, I, with the rest that have put or yet may put hands to this work, shall receive that reward which we have deserved. Sir, it grieves me very heavily that the crime of ingratitude is laid to my charge by your Majesty; and the rather, that I perceive the same to have proceeded of sinister information of them whose part it was not to have reported so, if true service past had been regarded; and as for repentance and declaration of the same, by certain effects that your Majesty desireth I show, my conscience perswades me in those proceedings to have done nothing against God, nor the dutiful obedience towards your Majesty nor the Queen my sovereign. Otherwise it should not have been to be repented, and also it should have been repented already, according to your Majesty's expectation of me. But your Majesty being truly informed and perswaded that the thing which we have done makes for the advancement of God's glory, without any manner of derogation to your Majesty's due obedience, we doubt not but your Majesty shall be well contented with our proceedings, which being grounded on the commandment of the eternal God, we dare not

leave the same unaccomplished, only wishing and desiring your Majesty might know the same and the truth thereof, as we are perswaded in our consciences, and all them that are truly instructed in the eternal word of our God, upon whom we cast our care from all dangers that may follow the accomplishment of his eternal will, and to whom we commend your Majesty, beseeching him to illuminate your heart with the gospel of his eternal truth, to know your Majesty's duty towards your poor subjects, God's chosen people, and what you ought to crave justly of them again ; for then we should have no occasion to fear your Majesty's wrath and indignation, nor your Majesty have any suspicion of our obedience ; the same God have your Majesty in his eternal safeguard. At Dumbarton, August 12th, 1599."

When her Majesty had read this letter, she tartly remarked—"So proud an answer was never given to any king or princess." Her hopes of obtaining the complete ascendancy being raised by the arrival of a thousand French soldiers, and a large sum of money, with the assurance of their being speedily followed by fresh reinforcements, for whose reception she began to fortify the port of Leith, which would afford a safe landing-place and a secure citadel, whence she might hurl defiance at all opposition, till she was enabled to resume active operations with an overpowering force.

At the time appointed, the Congregation met at Stirling ; while there, they were joined by the Earl of Arran, the Duke of Chattellerault's eldest son, who had

hurriedly returned from France, where he had been residing at the Court, in consequence of certain dark speeches which had escaped the Cardinal of Lorraine, threatening the destruction of some Protestant noblemen who thought themselves as high as princes ; which he understood as directed against his brother and himself, and whose suspicions appeared to have been well-founded, as his brother who stopped behind was thrown into prison shortly after he left Paris. Returning home through England, he had been introduced to Queen Elizabeth, who received him most graciously, and by her flattering attentions so won upon him that he engaged, on reaching Scotland, to join with those who sought to expel the French, and endeavour to induce his father to espouse the same cause. In pursuance of this arrangement, as soon as he had agreed with the Lords at Stirling, he paid a visit to Hamilton, where he effected a reconciliation between his Grace and several of the noblemen of the opposite party ; he invited them to meet together and join in a common letter to the Queen Regent, “ expressive of their astonishment that she, without any provocation, should so soon violate her good faith, as to expel the inhabitants of Leith from their habitations, and place there a colony of strangers, with the evident design of reducing the country to subjection ; wherefore they entreated her to desist from such a course, and not drive them to take the necessary measures for resisting the mischief intended.” This letter, dated Hamilton, 29th September, was subscribed by the Duke of Chattellerauld, the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, and Monteith, the Lords Ruthven,

Boyd, and Ochiltree, along with divers other Barons and gentlemen. They also wrote Lord Erskine, Keeper of the Castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, desiring him not to allow himself to be deceived by any promises, and assuring him of speedy assistance should any attempt be made to obtain possession of these fortresses. The Regent, in reply to the Duke, said she wondered much at his joining with the Lords, or that he should have permitted the Earl of Arran to do so, and not rather have advised him to visit her and reside at Court.

An interchange of several epistles followed, but leading to no satisfactory result, and the fortifications of Leith being still carried on, the Duke and the Lords of the Congregation concentrating their whole force, marched from Stirling to Edinburgh on the 7th of October. Another correspondence took place upon their reaching the capital, they requiring the Queen Regent to send back the French soldiers, and she requiring the Congregation to submit to her lawful authority; to which they replied, they were ready to yield all obedience in civil matters if they were only allowed the free exercise of religion, and saw their country relieved from the tyranny and oppression of foreigners, who interrupted the whole trade by keeping possession of Leith, the main commercial port.

She then charged the Duke of Chattellerault with designing to obtain the Crown of Scotland for his son, the Earl of Arran, and asked him how he could think her so unnatural as to aid him in depriving her own daughter of her right by delivering up the only place of

strength she held for her, and the only line of communication which it commanded. She therefore ordered him to withdraw his troops from Edinburgh and the vicinity upon the 19th October.

In return, he, in conjunction with the Lords of the Congregation, decreed to suspend her from the function of Regent, which they formally announced by proclamation at the Cross, upon the 21st day of October, for the following reasons:—"Because she pursued the barons and burgesses within the realm as strangers with weapons, without any form of law; laid garrisons in towns, which oppressed the lieges and forced a great part of the inhabitants to flee out of their own houses, till they were restored by arms; placed strangers in the highest offices, one of them as Chancellor of the Kingdom; thrust provosts and baillies upon burghs without free election; coined current money without consent of the nobility, and that so base, that the country was likely to be depaupered; they, therefore, required her to leave Leith, as they were determined to recover it by force of arms."

As she refused to depart, the Lords sat down before the port, which they summoned to surrender; the French answered by a sally and drove them back—this they again repeated, and the Lords were forced to return to Stirling.

Meanwhile, the Marquis of Huntly arrived with reinforcements, when the siege of Leith was resumed, and on the 27th April 1560, he joined with the Lords in renewing the Covenant, in the following terms:—

"We, whose names are underwritten, have promised

and obliged ourselves, faithfully in the presence of God, and by these presents do promise, that we together in general, and every one of us in special by himself, with our bodies, goods, and friends, and all that we can do, shall set forward the reformation of religion according to God's word ; and procure, by all means possible, that the truth of God's word may have free passage within this realm, with due administration of sacraments, and all things depending upon the said word. That we shall each, one with another, all of us, effectually concur, join in one, take and hold one plain purpose for the recovery of our ancient freedom and liberties, and that we may be ruled by the laws and custom of the country. Again, that we shall tender the common cause as if it were the cause of every one of us in particular, and that the causes of every one of us now joined together, being lawful and honest, shall be all our cause in general : and that he that is enemy to the cause foresaid, shall be enemy to us all in so far."

Queen Elizabeth having formed an alliance with the Scottish Covenanters, and sent a number of troops to their assistance, the garrison in Leith was reduced to an extremity. The French King, on account of the state of his own affairs, being unable to render any aid, despatched two ambassadors to the Queen of England, with offers to restore her the town of Calais if she would withdraw her troops from Scotland ; but while they were on their journey, the Queen Regent, worn out with fatigue, anxiety, and vexation, sickened and died on the 10th of June 1560. Perceiving her end drawing near, she requested an interview with the Duke of

Chattellerault, the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Marischal, and Lord James Stewart, to whom she expressed her sorrow for the troubles of the realm. Commending earnestly the study of peace, she advised them to send both French and English troops out of the country, and besought them to continue in obedience to the Queen their sovereign, and to maintain the old amity with France. With tears, she asked pardon of all of them whom in any way she had offended, as she said she did freely forgive those who had injured her in any manner; then embracing the nobles one by one and kissing them, she bade them farewell!—to the others, of meaner sort, she gave her hand and sent them away. After composing herself for a while, she sent for John Willock, one of the covenanting ministers, with whom she had a long conversation, and openly professed that she did trust to be saved only by the death and merits of Jesus Christ. “And thus,” says Spottiswood, “ended her life most Christianly.”

Shortly after the death of the Queen Regent, the parties in Scotland entered into a truce, on purpose to hear the ambassadors who had arrived from France and England to act as negotiators, when a peace was concluded, the leading articles of which were:—That all the French and English soldiers should be sent out of the country within a given time; that no foreigners should in future be entrusted with high official situations, nor any admitted to places of trust, without the approbation of the nobles and Estates of Parliament; that no one should be troubled on account of anything that had happened since the 6th of March 1558; that

when any bishops, abbots, or other churchmen should allege themselves to have received any injuries, either on their persons or goods, the same should be considered by the Estates of Parliament and redress made according to reason ; and in the meantime, that no man should stop them to enjoy their rents nor do any hurt or violence to their persons, and if any should do contrary to this article he should be pursued by the Lords as a perturber of the Commonwealth ; and with regard to the religious disputes and demands of the Lords of the Congregation and others, it was provided that a certain number of noblemen should be chosen in the next Convention and Parliament to be sent to their Majesties the Queen of Scotland and her husband the King of France, to expose unto them the things that should be thought needful for the estate thereof ; and for the articles personally decided, they should carry with them the ratification of the same by the Estates, and bring back a confirmation thereof from their Majesties ; and as a finale, that the Queen of Scotland and King of France should delete the arms of England out of their scutcheons and whole household stuff.

On the 16th of July, immediately after the confirmation of this agreement by the Estates, the French embarked at Leith for their own country, and the English army took their departure for Berwick. The third day after their departure, a day of solemn thanksgiving was kept in the church of St. Giles by the Lords and others professing true religion, where, after sermon, they all united in rendering thanks to God for the merciful deliverance of their country from

the tyrannical oppression of the Frenchmen. Ministers were then appointed "to serve the various burghs of the evangel," along with whom several men were nominated as superintendents to take the direction of Church affairs ; but lest they should assume any arrogant superiority from their office, it was especially provided, in detailing their duties, that "these men must not be suffered to live as your idle bishops have done heretofore ; neither must they remain where they gladly would, but they must be preachers themselves, and such as may not make longer residence in any place than till they see the kirks properly planted and provided of ministers, or at least of readers, charge must be given them that they remain in no place above twenty days in their visitation till they have passed through their whole bounds. They must preach at least thrice every week ;" "and also examine the life, diligence, and behaviour of the ministers, the order of their kirks, and the manners of the people." "They must further consider how the poor are provided for, and the young instructed ; and finally, they must note such crimes as be heinous, that by censure of the Kirk the same may be corrected."

Under these favourable circumstances the meeting of the Estates approached, and never had there been a period of greater excitation than the short time which preceded the elections, all who had any title to attend the Great Council of the nation were called upon to come forward, and all were eager to come. Not only was there a full turn out of the nobility and the prelates, but even the lesser barons, instead of appearing by re-

presentation, came personally, and all the commissioners for the burghs presented themselves. Various obstacles were raised to prevent this assemblage from meeting, as that the Sovereign was not in the country, nor was there any legal chief magistrate resident among them to open the session ; but, although the Lords agreed to dispense with the ceremony of carrying the crown, sceptre, and sword, which were wont to be borne before royalty, or the representative of royalty, on such occasions, they would not consent to delay this meeting ; and besides, insisted that although not formally, they had essentially the royal assent, as in the agreement it was said that a Parliament should be kept in the month of August, which was warrant sufficient for their present meeting.

Accordingly, when the time arrived, that high court sat down, nor had they ever done so under more critical circumstances. Their meeting without any direct warrant from their Sovereign was objected to and debated for several days, but overruled. Then the choice of the Lords of the articles became another object of contention ; the noblemen who had the nomination of the clerical members, passing over all those whom they knew to be friendly to the Popish creed, chose only such as favoured the Protestant cause, at which the prelates stormed mightily, alleging that some of them were mere laicks, never having been regularly ordained to the priesthood, and all of them were perjured apostates, having abjured the faith they had sworn to support. But these wailings produced little effect upon the Estates, who, by an overwhelming majority, supported the Lords.

The first thing moved in the articles, and by the Lords brought before Parliament, was, “ A supplication of the barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and all the other professors of the true faith,” requiring “ that the Romish Church should be condemned and abolished. It reprobated the tenet of transubstantiation, the merit of works, papistical indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimages, and prayers to departed saints ; and considering them as pestilent errors, and as fatal to salvation, it demanded that all those that should teach and maintain them should be exposed to correction and punishment. It demanded, that a remedy should be applied against the profanation of the holy sacraments by the Roman Catholics, and that the ancient discipline of the Church should be restored. In fine, it insisted that the supremacy and authority of the Pope should be abolished ; and that the patrimony of the Church should be employed in supporting the Reformed ministry, in the provision of schools, and in the maintenance of the poor of a long time neglected.”

This supplication was received with the greatest marks of deference and respect ; the censures it conveyed upon the doctrines of the Romish Church were considered as just and requisite ; the last clause, however, was not quite so palatable. The nobility and lay gentlemen who had participated in the spoil of the fallen hierarchy, did not think it expedient that the whole patrimony of the Church should be allotted to the Reformed ministry, the support of schools, and the poor ; they, therefore, delayed giving any decisive answer regarding that point, but they called upon the

ministers to draw up, under distinct heads, “the summe of the doctrine they craved to be by law established;” an important task, which they speedily accomplished.

On the fourth day, August 17th, these were laid before Parliament. The Confession of the Faith and Doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of Scotland, when read, was put to the vote; of all the Temporal Estate, three only dissented—the Earl of Athole, the Lords Sommerville and Borthwick—saying, “they would believe as their fathers before them had believed.” The Prelates sat still, and made no reply. The Earl Marischal, provoked at their silence, thus broke forth—“It is long since I bore some favourable leaning toward the tenets of the Reformed and became rather jealous of the Roman religion; but this day hath fully resolved me of the truth of the one and the falsehood of the other. For seeing, my Lords, the bishops, who, by their learning and zeal, should be able to defend the truth, say nothing against THE CONFESSION we have heard, I cannot but think it is the very truth of God, and the contrary false and deceivable doctrine.”

In the same session, three other acts were passed—one for abolishing the Pope’s jurisdiction and authority within the realm; another, annulling all statutes enacted in former times in favour of idolatry; and a third, for the punishment of the sayers and hearers of mass. This last bore a strong imprint of the times, and of one of the worst features of the religious bondage from which they were making their escape. By it, all persons saying or hearing mass, for the first offence were to be confiscate of their estates, and also subjected to

corporal chastisement at the discretion of the magistrate ; for the second offence, they were to be banished out of the kingdom ; and for the third offence, they were to suffer the pains of death ! These decisive statutes achieved the complete overthrow of the Romish religion.*

To obtain the sanction of Mary and Francis to them, was an object of the greatest importance and anxiety to the Estates. Sir James Sandilands, a Knight of Rhodes, afterwards Lord Torphichen, was therefore appointed to go to France, to the King and Queen, to solicit their royal assent ; but though a man of high estimation in his own country he was treated with insult ; the Guyses, the Queen's uncles, reviling him bitterly at his first audience, inasmuch as that he, being a knight of the holy order, should have accepted a commission from rebels, to solicit a ratification of execrable heresies ; he endeavoured, by every means in his power, to mitigate their wrath, but all in vain ; he was haughtily dismissed without obtaining any satisfactory answer. The cold reception he had met with at Court

* Spottiswood having noticed that the Estates deferred considering an act for the polity of the Church to a more convenient season, adds—" An Act was passed for demolishing cloysters and abbey churches, such as were not yet pulled down ;" " thereupon issued a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings throughout all the parts of the realm ; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner sort imitating the example of the greater, and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but the churches either defaced or pulled to the ground ; the holy vessels, or whatever men could make gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared ; the registers of the Church and Bibliothèques cast into the fire." " Report also went that John Knox did say the sure way to banish the rookes, was to pull down their nests ; which words, if any such did escape him, were to be understood only of the cloysters of monks and friers, according to the act ; but popular fury once armed, can keep no measure."—*Book III. p. 175.*

was soon spread abroad, which greatly distressed the reformers, who were sensible of their own inability to withstand the power of their Queen, united with France, and were very doubtful of what aid they might expect from the wary, selfish policy of Elizabeth.

At this critical juncture, news arrived of the French King's (Francis II.) death. An event not more elevating to the Congregation than discouraging to the Romanist party, as with him fell the power of the Guyses, and all Mary's influence in France; the latter, therefore, instantly sent off privately Mr. John Lesley, afterwards Bishop of Ross, with a pressing entreaty to the Queen to return to Scotland, and to make her first landing at Aberdeen, where she would be honourably received; and from the concourse of nobles, her friends in that quarter, obtain such a following as might enable her to re-establish the Popish religion in her kingdom. The associated noblemen also, as soon as they knew their Queen was a widow, despatched Lord James to his sister, with a dutiful invitation, expressive of the great desire her subjects had for her presence among them; these embassies found the disconsolate Mary at Vitrie, in Campaigne, whither she had retired to nourish in secret her poignant sorrow. To both she gave favourable answers, particularly to Lord James, whom she requested immediately to return, and announce her resolution to comply with the Lords' request; and at the same time to take particular care that nothing should be done with regard to the previous treaty of pacification concluded at Leith till her arrival. While preparing to proceed, she was

seized with tertian fever, which detained her some months.

During this period, Catherine de Medicis, Queen Mother of France, who had a personal dislike to the Scottish Queen, endeavoured by an insidious policy to increase the difficulties with which the latter was surrounded in the peculiar situation she now occupied with her Protestant subjects. She induced Charles IX., who succeeded his brother, to despatch Mons. Noailles, a senator of Bordeaux, as envoy to the Scottish Council, to urge strongly upon them, under pretence of great regard for "the ancient nation:"—First, a renewal of the old league between France and Scotland; next, a dissolution of the late treaty with England; and finally, that the churchmen should be restored to their livings from which they had been removed. The Council delayed giving any answer till the meeting of Parliament in May, when the envoy had audience, and was desired to report as their answer to his master—"That the Scots were no ways conscious to themselves of any breach of the ancient league, but contrariwise, the French had broken it to them, seeking of late to deprive them of their native liberties, and under the profession of friendship, to bring them into a miserable servitude. That they could not violate the confederacy with England, after having received from that people the greatest kindness which one nation could possibly render to another; and as to restoring the churchmen to their charges, they did not acknowledge these whom they so styled to be office-bearers in the Church, and Scotland having renounced the Pope would maintain

no longer his priests and vassals." Noailles being thus dismissed, the Earls of Morton and Glencairn returned from an embassy they had been sent on to England, highly delighted with the gracious manner in which they had been treated, and the assurances of assistance they had received from Elizabeth to enable them to defend their liberties should they at any time be invaded.

As Elizabeth would not consent to give the Queen of Scots a safe passage through England, strong suspicions were entertained that she intended to entrap her royal sister by the way, especially as she put a large navy to sea under pretence of suppressing pirates, and captured one of the vessels of the Scottish squadron, on board of which was the Earl of Eglinton; but the weather happening to be hazy, the vessel in which the Queen herself was, passed the English fleet unperceived during a thick fog, and on the 20th of August 1561, arrived at Leith.

Her reception was loyal and dutifully affectionate; all her subjects viewed with peculiar interest a lovely girl, about nineteen years of age, whose life had been chequered by the most striking vicissitudes: bereaved of her father when but six days old, and forced thus early into exile, she only escaped the enemies who lay in wait to intercept her, to fall into the hands of friends whose kindness proved the source of her greatest misfortunes. Educated amid all the gait and splendour of the most luxurious court in Europe, and married to the then most powerful prince in Christendom, two crowns adorned her brow, and a third appeared to hang over her head. Now she returned a widow to

an empty palace, and to a kingdom torn by the most intractable of all divisions—religious contention. Nor could the dark apartments of Holyrood cheer a young spirit accustomed to the splendid halls of Parisian royalty; neither would a little incident, which occurred within a few days, tend greatly to chase her melancholy or dissipate her dismal forebodings.

She had agreed to the public establishment of the Protestant religion in the kingdom, only stipulating for herself, that she, with her family, should have a private mass. This, as she was the sovereign princess of the realm, and educated from her youth in the Romish faith, was considered by many as no unreasonable demand; but the ministers declaimed vehemently against allowing the worship of that idol again to take place within the realm, and John Knox, in a sermon on the second Sunday following her arrival, bore testimony against what he considered a dangerous infringement of the laws of the country. “One mass,” said he, “tolerated, is more fearful unto me than if ten thousand men were arrived in any part of the realm for the suppression of the holy religion. There is strength in God to resist and confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon him; of this we have heretofore had experience; but if we join hands with idolatry, there is no doubt that his amiable presence and comfortable presence will depart from us, and then what shall become of us?” This severity was occasioned by the following circumstance:—

On the previous Sunday, while preparations were making for performing mass in the Queen’s Chapel of

Holyrood House, as the tapers and other things required for that service were being carried through the court, some of the crowd who had assembled attacked the person that bore the wax lights, and taking them from him, brake them in pieces, and would have demolished the whole "idolatrous furniture," had not others more moderate interfered; in particular LORD JAMES, who himself protected the ecclesiastics and their servants from any damage, and caused them to be conducted in safety to their dwellings. His moderation, however, was not very generally acceptable to the multitude, some saying that their endurance was too far tampered with, while others asserted that if right were done, the Priest, according to God's law against idolaters, ought to be put to death. The nobles did not, however, now join so cordially against "the toleration of idolatry" as they did previously to the Queen's arrival among them; some who had shewn themselves most zealous against Papistry, gained by the smiles of their fascinating sovereign, were induced to look on the reintroduction of the ancient religion with less abhorrence than they had been wont to express; others, emulous of similiar honours, became equally complaisant, and all appeared exceeding anxious to enjoy a plentiful share of Court favour, which was chiefly bestowed on such as seemed either indifferent to the Protestant cause, or not too violently opposed to the superstition of Rome. And this produced effects upon their conduct extremely distressing to the true professors, especially in regard to those measures pursued by the reformers for promoting and perfecting their grand object of thoroughly evangelizing the nation.

Next day, her Majesty in Council, ordered a proclamation to be made requiring all her subjects to keep the peace until the Estates should be assembled ; and she should come to some final agreement respecting the state of the country by their advice, which she hoped should be to the contentment of all ; the law bidding that none should take in hand, privately or openly, any alteration of the state of religion, or attempt anything against the same which she had found publicly standing at her arrival, under pain of death ; and whosoever should act in opposition to this, should be considered a seditious person. And her Majesty commands, with advice of her Secret Council, that none of the lieges take in hand to molest or trouble any of her domestic servants or persons whatsoever come out of France in her company at this time, for any cause whatsoever, either within her palace or without, under the said pain of death.

Immediately upon this proclamation being published, the Earl of Arran made the following protestation :—
“ In so far as by this proclamation it is made known unto the Church of God and members thereof, that the Queen is minded that the true religion and worship of God already established proceed forward, that it may daily increase until the Parliament, that order may be taken then for the extirpation of all idolatry out of this realm. We render most hearty thanks to the Lord our God for her Majesty’s good mind, earnestly praying that it may be increased in her Majesty, to the honour and glory of his name and good of his Church within this realm. And as touching the molestation of her Highness’s servants, we suppose that none dare be so

bold as once to move their finger at them in doing their lawful business ; and we have learned at our master Christ's school to keep peace with all men ; and therefore, for our part, we will promise that obedience to her Majesty, as is our duty, that none of her servants shall be troubled, molested, or once touched by the Church, or any member thereof, in doing their lawful business. But seeing that God hath said, The idolater shall die the death, we protest solemnly, in the presence of God, and in the ears of all people that hear this proclamation, and especially in the presence of you, Lyon Heralld, and the rest of your colleagues, makers of this proclamation, that if any of her servants shall commit idolatry, shall say mass, participate therewith, or take the defence thereof, (which we are loath should be in her Highness's company,) in that case, that this proclamation is not extended to them in that behalf, nor shall be a safeguard or girth to them in that behalf, no more than if they commit slaughter or murder, seeing the one is much more abominable and odious in the sight of God than is the other ; but that it may be lawful to inflict upon them the pains contained in God's word against idolaters, wherever they may be apprehended, without favour. And this our protestation, we desire you to notify unto her, and give her the copy hereof, lest her Highness may suspect an uproar if we all shall come and present the same."

Preparatory to a legal establishment of Protestantism in the land, it was deemed necessary not only to have a Confession of Faith drawn up, but also a form of Church polity, which was contained in the Book of

Discipline ; according to it, following the rule of Geneva, there were recognised four ordinary and perpetual office-bearers in the Kirk—Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons ; and four regular Courts—General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, or Elderships, and Sessions.

Pastors, or ministers, were those who preached the gospel and administered the sacraments ; doctors, who interpreted the Scripture and taught theology in schools or universities ; elders, who assisted the pastor in exercising ecclesiastical discipline and government ; deacons, who had the charge of the revenues of the Church and oversight of the poor. Besides these, there were three temporary officials, adapted to the exigencies of the times ; readers, who read the Scriptures, and the common prayers usually prefixed to the psalms in metre ; exhorters, who added a few plain exhortations to the reading of the Scriptures ; and superintendents, who had large districts assigned them, over which they itinerated, preaching, planting churches, and officially inspecting the conduct of pastors, exhorters, and readers. The mode of admission to all these offices was by the free election of the people, examination of the candidate, and public reception, accompanied with prayer and exhortation. Imposition of hands at the ordination of ministers was not used at this time, although afterwards introduced.

Courts rose in gradation. The Session, which consisted of the ministers, elders, and deacons of a particular congregation, who met once a-week, or oftener, and managed their affairs. The Presbytery, composed of the ministers, exhorters, and elders of several

churches, who met at first for mutual edification, but afterwards to manage the general business of the various churches to which they belonged. The Synod, in which the superintendent met the ministers and delegated elders of his district thrice a-year, and took cognizance of the ecclesiastical affairs within its bounds. And the General Assembly, which was composed of ministers and elders commissioned from the different parts of the kingdom, who met twice or sometimes thrice in the year, to take under their consideration the interests of the whole national Church.*

The first General Assembly was held at Edinburgh, before Mary's arrival, on the 20th of December 1560, when their future meetings were arranged, ministers were appointed for the chief towns, and others, with the superintendents, to itinerate and preach throughout the country.

At the Convention of Estates, which was held in January 1561, their proceedings were legally recognised, and the Book of Discipline subscribed by a majority of the nobility, among whom were the Duke of Chattellerauld, (Hamilton;) the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, Marshall, Monteith, Morton, and Rothes; Lords James, Yester, Ochiltree, and many others of inferior rank; but when it was desired, after the Queen's arrival, that the same should be acknowledged and authorized by Her Majesty, Secretary Lethington "scripped at this motion," *i. e.* objected, and the matter was not pushed; but John Knox, when informed of that conclusion, thus addressed the versatile courtier—

* Dunlop's Confessions—Calderwood's Church History, p. 96.

“Let God require the detriment which this Kirk and Commonwealth shall find by the want of things therein prescribed from the hands of such as stop the same.” The frequent minorities which had occurred in Scotland during the last century, (generally times of turbulence,) and the imbecility or folly of many of her kings, had given the nobility a most pernicious ascendancy in the realm ; and one great, if not the sole, leading object of their policy being to uphold the power, or what they styled the “privileges of their order,” the question now came to be, whether they or the Sovereign were to rule the kingdom ; and this had an effect in the establishment of Protestantism in Scotland, which I think has not been sufficiently attended to ; it rendered many men who cared nothing about religion, and who were actually opposed to religious freedom, the most zealous advocates and promoters of both—as the Queen Regent professed the Roman Catholic “Idolatry,” and strenuously exerted herself to oppose the introduction of the “blessed evangile” and the sequestration of Church property.

While many of the nobility were eager to share in the spoil of the fallen hierarchy,* and assist the rising establishment, a question of serious import arose respecting the right of subjects to resist the ordinances

* Had the then existing nobility been the legal descendants of those nobles who, induced by the craft of the priesthood operating on their superstitious fears in the dark hours of sickness and approaching death, bequeathed their property to the Church and defrauded their rightful heirs, as some still do, in the anxious desire to save their souls, there might have, perhaps, been a kind of equity in their seizing for themselves the property of the Papistical priesthood ; but as few of them could have established in a court of law any such claim, their dividing among themselves what was indisputably *public property*, places their religious professions in a very doubtful point of view.

of their superiors respecting religious practice and profession. As upon the solution of this question depended the decision of the other—to whom belonged the disposal of the confiscated clerical property, perhaps no occurrence in modern history can be produced which shows more strongly the injustice and impolicy of state establishments of religion than what took place upon this occasion, when the Reformers forced upon their princes the support of a religion opposed to their own.

When the young Queen landed in Scotland, she found the ordinary revenues of the Crown quite inadequate to sustain what her flatterers called the necessary splendours of the Court ; it was therefore resolved in her Privy Council to supply the deficiency from the revenues of the prelates. These dignitaries, who were allowed to hold their livings upon professing outward compliance with the new order of things, being called upon, consented to give up a third part of their benefices for this purpose, but at the same time bargained to be relieved from maintaining the ministers with which they were burdened. “ This,” says Spottiswood, “ carried some show of commodity at first, but the prelates and beneficed men, under-valuing their rents,” “ the poor ministers scarcely received what sufficed for their provisions.”

The arrangement, however, which was agreed to by the Protestant nobles to please her Majesty, called forth the indignation of John Knox, who exclaimed, when he heard of it—“ Weall, if the end of this ordour pretendit to be taken for sustentation of ministers be hap-

pie, my judgement failes me. I sie twa pairts frielic gevin to the devill, and the thrid mon be devyded betwix God and the devill. Who wald have thocht that when Joseph reulled in Egypt, his brethren sould have travellit for victualles and have returned with emptie sacks unto their families? O happie servants of the devill and miserabill servants of Jesus Christ, if efter this lyf thair wer not hell and heavin !”

Hitherto Mary had made no open attempt against the Protestantism of her country, but wherever she could she endeavoured to prepare the way for an effective attack. In the choice of her Privy Counsellors she had named Huntly, one of the most powerful chieftains of the North, who was greatly inclined to the Romish superstition. Now she received letters from the Pope, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and her uncles, strongly advising her to attach him to her service, as a nobleman most fitted to aid her in restoring the ancient religion ; at the same time promising her large supplies of money and of the munitions of war, for enabling her to crush the heretics, of whom the Lord James, her brother, now Earl of Moray, was placed in the first rank. These letters appear to have induced her to make a more open display of her religion ; and it has been generally alleged that she had taken the advice they offered, and was preparing, in conjunction with Huntly, to re-establish by force the ancient religion, for soon after their receipt she prepared to take a tour through the North, and before setting out, when petitions were presented to her by several Commissioners of the Presbyterian Church,

praying that the mass and other superstitious rites of the Roman religion might be abolished, she made answer—"That she would do nothing in prejudice of the religion she professed, and hoped before a year was expired to have the mass and the Catholic profession restored through the whole kingdom."

On this occasion, John Knox acted with that boldness and decision which characterized him; for being appointed by the General Assembly to visit the churches of the West, he engaged the gentlemen in these districts to enter into a new bond of defence, or, to use the terms of the day, to renew their Covenant obligation. It does not appear, however, that any general national engagement respecting religion took place during the remainder of the unhappy Mary's reign in the shape of covenanting; indeed there rather appeared among the higher ranks a halting between two opinions, and such a desire to please the Queen and ingratiate themselves at Court, that it is even doubtful, if her Majesty had conducted herself with any degree of propriety in her domestic life, whether she might not have succeeded in re-introducing Popery, or at least in preventing the legal establishment of Presbyterianism, and obtaining, as the more artful Elizabeth did, a semi-Popish Episcopalianism. This was what her son tried, and what the National Covenant was the grand means of preventing.

Under the Regents who governed during the minority of James, the cause of Protestantism continued to advance, and as the ministers were unceasingly active in their labours among the people, and particularly

attentive to the instruction of the young, their endeavours were eminently blessed of God ; and this period forms a remarkable era in the history of Scotland for the success of the gospel, especially in the South and West, where the presence of practical godliness was especially marked in the great and evident moral change which overspread the face of the land. Where heretofore the grossest iniquities had prevailed, a grave sobriety of manners succeeded, and where property had, to a proverb, been insecure, a child could watch in safety the herds in the fields. This most importantly beneficial change was accompanied with the utmost aversion to Popery and a horror at every vestige of the broken down superstition, either in its forms of worship or Church government.

Their youthful monarch did not sympathize with the reformed. James, although educated by the lady Marr and the celebrated Buchanan, both decided Protestants, appears to have very early imbibed a kindness for his mother's religion, and shown an attachment to some of its professors, which caused his conduct to be viewed by the ministers with anxious distrust, although he was very liberal in his protestations of attachment to their profession.

Were not nations and assemblies of men so often guilty, *en masse* or in majorities, of deeds which as individuals would send them to bedlam, the folly of the Scottish people, or rather the nobles, in allowing a boy hardly twelve years of age to assume the government would be incredible—yet so it was.

In the year 1578, James began to exercise the

functions of royalty. As might have been expected, favouritism formed a principal feature of the juvenile potentate's early reign ; nor were his favourites chosen with the most consummate judgment. Towards the end of next year, Esmé Stuart, his father's cousin-german, born in France, where he inherited the title of Lord D'Aubigne, arrived in Scotland, sent, as was generally supposed, by the family of Guyse, to regain the French influence and restore the discarded religious regime. He was a remarkably handsome man and of the most insinuating manners. At his first introduction he captivated the King, and soon obtained complete influence over his Majesty. Within a few days he was created Earl of Lennox, and had the Abbacy of Arbroath bestowed upon him that he might support his Earldom with sufficient splendour.

Such an accumulation of honours and wealth upon a foreigner gave much dissatisfaction to the nobles, while his being a Papist awakened the jealousy of the ministers ; and as a number of jesuits and priests on hearing of the favourable reception he had met with, and the high favour in which he stood at Court, " did frequently resort into the country, and such as were Popishly affected at home began to avow their profession. Nicholl Burn, professor of philosophy, and Archibald and John Hamilton, two regents in the New College, Aberdeen, made open apostasie from the truth ; in Dumfries, Ninian Dalziel, schoolmaster, taught his scholars the Romane catechisme ; and in Paisley, a number of Papists assembling together, did in derision sing a *soule masse* for the ministers, as if they and their

religion had been utterly gone." All this contributed to raise loud murmuring among the Protestant population, while the ministers in their sermons expressed their regret at the countenance thus given to Papists, and the dangers with which both King and country were threatened from the machinations of the French and the Roman Catholics.

To appease these discontents, which had become too wide spread to be unheeded, James called a meeting of the ministers, and told them what strenuous exertions he had made to enlighten and convert Lennox ; that that nobleman had consented to take instructions, and would willingly receive one of their number as a teacher. Mr. David Lindsay, then minister at Leith, was nominated, and under his labours the nobleman profited so much that in a short time he professed his willingness to join himself to the Church. He was received accordingly, and after having, in St. Giles' Kirk, renounced Papistry, he partook of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper ; besides which he sent a letter to the General Assembly, thus stating the circumstances of his conversion—" It is not," said he, in this communication, " I think, unknown to you how it has pleased God of His goodness to call me by His grace to the knowledge of His salvation, since my coming to this land, wherefore I render, most earnestly, humble thanks unto his Divine Majesty, finding my voyage towards these parts most happily bestowed in this respect. And although I have made open declaration of this my calling, first by my own mouth in the Church of Edinburgh, and secondly, by my hand-writing in the King's Church at Stirling, where I subscribed

the Confession of Faith, yet I found it was my duty, you being generally convened, to send this gentleman, my cousin and friend, accompanied with my letter towards you, to make you, in my name, free and humble offer of due obedience, and to receive your will in anything that shall please you. And I further assure you, that I shall procure and advance all other things which may promote the glory of God and increase of His Church." This lulled, but did not set at rest public suspicion, which shortly after was roused to a much higher pitch by the intercepting of some dispensations from Rome, granting permission to "the Catholicks to promise, swear, subscribe, and do whatever should be required of them, so as in mind they continued firm and did use their diligence to advance in secret the Romane faith." His Majesty now found it necessary to interfere, both for the sake of Lennox and from a dread that he might himself be implicated in the charge of leaning to the religion of his favourite, and of coldness in his attachment to the Reformers' doctrine. He commanded Mr. John Craig, one of the ministers to the royal household, and held in high estimation by all his Protestant brethren, to compose, in addition to the Covenant, a short Confession, abjuring all the corruptions of Rome, both in doctrine and superstitious rites, especially disclaiming the Pope's usurped authority over the Church and his wicked hierarchy; at the same time promising "obedience to the doctrine and discipline of *this Church*, and to defend the same all the daies of their lives, under the pains contained in the law." In conclusion, they thus solemnly avouched

their sincerity—"And seeing many are stirred up by Satan and that Roman Antichrist to promise, swear, subscribe, and for a time use the holy sacraments in the Church deceitfully, against their own consciences, minding thereby, first, under the external cloak of religion, to corrupt and subvert secretly God's true religion within the Church, and afterwards, when time may serve to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hope of the Pope's dispensation, devised against the word of God, to his greater confusion and their double condemnation in the day of the Lord Jesus. We, therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy and such double dealing with God and his Church, protest and call the Searcher of hearts to witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our confession, promise, and subscription, so that we are not moved [to the same] for any worldly respect." This last clause was added, as many hypocrites came forward and subscribed the Covenant from merely political and mercenary motives, who were strongly suspected and not unfrequently known to be Papists or infidels, which, says Petrie, is the same thing. With this appendage, the Covenant was subscribed by the King and his household, January 28th, 1580, or, according to the new reckoning, 1581, and on March 2d, a proclamation was issued commanding commissioners and ministers to urge their parishioners to subscribe, and to give in the names of those who should refuse to his Majesty's ministers, that they might be prosecuted.

To this the Church lent effectual aid. The Assem-

bly convened at Glasgow, April 24th, of which Robert Pont was chosen Moderator, in their ninth session, concluded that the Book of Policy, being agreed unto in divers Assemblies before, should be registered *ad perpetuam memoriam*, and copies thereof be taken by every Presbytery. And in the same session, the Confession of Faith, or Covenant, lately set forth by His Majesty's proclamation, and subscribed by him, they in one voice acknowledged to be a true, Christian, and faithful confession, and the tenor to be followed out, *i. e.* subscribed, as is ordered in the proclamation.

Parliament, which met at Edinburgh, October 24th, by their first act ratified all former laws and acts made for the liberty of the true Church and religion presently professed within the realm ; and by another denounced all Papists practising against the true religion by dispersing libels in praise of the Pope or seducing the people. The policy of the Church was confirmed, the King consenting to the registration of the Book of Discipline, and appointing Commissioners to concur with the deputies of the Assemblies, thus fixing the form of Presbyterianism previously to again subscribing the National Covenant. Towards the close of the year, as several of the ministers had not been so diligent as they ought in procuring their parishioners' subscriptions to this sacred bond, they were reminded by the General Assembly of their duty, and straitly required to obtain the subscriptions of their flocks.

In the winter of 1587, Europe resounded with the alarming news of the great armaments going forward by King Philip in Spain, and as it was generally un-

derstood that Britain was to be the object of attack, being the grand bulwark of Protestantism, “the Papists,” says Calderwood, “were practising busily, and preparing for the receipt of the Spaniards,” while “fervent were the prayers of the godly, powerful and piercing were the sermons of the preachers.” The unjustifiable murder of the Queen of Scots by her royal sister Elizabeth, which had strongly exasperated the English Papists, and the indignation of James at such an atrocious indignity done his Crown—setting aside all filial affection, for which he was not very remarkable—were calculated upon by the Spanish monarch as motives sufficient to induce the young King to join him in his projected attack upon England. In order to prepare the country for such a crisis, numbers of jesuits and seminary priests were sent to Scotland by Philip, and while he was carrying on his secret negotiations with the chiefs Huntly, Errol, and Crawford, they were busily employed disseminating amongst the lieges their plausible and urgent exhortations to seduce them from their allegiance to the King, and their adherence to the Protestant profession. The ministers, ever watchful, soon caught the alarm, and roused both the people and the King to a sense of their danger ; in consequence of which, a committee composed of some members of the Privy Council and a deputation of ministers from the General Assembly was appointed, and by their especial direction, “a bond” was framed, and carried through Parliament, for the defence of “the true and Christian religion presently professed within this our realme ; and our Sovereigne Lord’s Es-

tate standing now threatened alswell by foreigne preparations for prosecution of that detestable conspiracie against Christ and his Evangel, called the *Holy League*, also by outward and inward practices of the favourers and supports thereof among ourselves, who now animated by the report of foreigne powers repairing to this realme, begin more plainly to utter and professe their long conceived evil meaning to the truth, and consequently to the standing of his Majestie our Sovereigne Lord, whom they have found and tried to be a constant and inflexible professor of the same."

On the 5th of August 1588, a proclamation was made at the cross of Edinburgh, wherein were discovered the dangers imminent to religion, arising either from intestine enemies or foreigners; and the bond devised for maintenance of religion was ratified.

Next day, the General Assembly convened in the little Kirk, appointed a fast to be kept on the Thursday and Sabbath following, and despatched two of their number to pass to the King to put him in mind of the present danger, that with concurrence of the nobility he might provide for timeous defence. After the defeat of the *Invincible Armada*, in October, "another solemn fast was kept which continued three Sabbath dayes, wherewith was joined the celebration of the Lord's Supper, when thanks were given for that notable delivery from the invasion attempted by the cruel Spaniard."

In January 1589, the King was again required by the ministers, now in his perfect age, to subscribe the Confession of Faith, and to renew the charge given in

his minority to all his subjects the same of new again, which he did. Next year, 1590, at their usual meeting in January, they sent a common letter to the King to deplore the estate of the Kirk, and specially to crave that he would grant a commission to some of the Council to concur with some of the ministers to promote a renewal of the Covenant, similar to what had taken place when the Spanish invasion was feared ; this was accordingly granted, and in order that it might be done effectually, the Lords of the Secret Council gave license to Robert Waldgrave to print the Confession of Faith with the General Bond, having two blank leaves appended, and appointed a commission of ninety-six ministers, and about an hundred and thirty of the noblemen, barons, and others, to circulate them throughout the country and receive signatures. Everywhere they were welcomed, and the revered documents cheerfully subscribed.

Rumours having arisen towards the close of this year that another attempt would be made by the Spanish King against England, and there being a general impression that James had too favourable a leaning towards the Roman Catholics, the General Assembly which met early next year, resolved, that the Covenant should be again renewed. Upon Tuesday, 30th " March 1596, they came together in the little Kirk, at nine of the clock in the morning, in number amounting to about four hundred persons, all ministers or choise professors." Mr. Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, who presided, after the first prayer " caused read 33 and 34 chapters of Ezekiel, he then stated

that the end of that meeting was the confession of their own sinnes, with promise of amendment, and so to enter into a new league with God." "He was," says the historian, "so powerful and moving in application, that within an hour after they entered in the kirk, they looked with another countenance nor that where-with they entered; he exhorted them to enter into private meditation, to acknowledge their sins and promise amendment." A solemn silence reigned for a quarter of an hour, only interrupted by sighs and sobs, with shedding of tears, "so that the place might worthily have been called Bochim; for the like of that day had not been seen in Scotland since the Reformation. There have been many days of humiliation for present judgments and imminent dangers, but the like for sinne and defection was never seen since the Reformation." After the concluding prayer, when the brethren were about to depart, they were stayed by the Moderator, and desired to hold up their hands to testify their entering into a New League and Covenant with God. They held up their hands presently and readily, which was a moving spectacle to all that were present. At their next session, it was resolved, that the Covenant should be renewed when the brethren returned to their flocks, at their first convenings in their Synods and Presbyteries, which was generally done, and afterwards also in many of the parishes, during the course of this and the following years. No national renewal of this sacred bond, however, again took place till that most solemn and impressive renewal in 1638, of which we are now to give an account from the documents

COVENANT
RENEWED.

1596.

handed down to us by those who were partakers in that important transaction.

James VI. during the latter years of his reign in Scotland, had attempted to introduce a kind of mongrel Episcopacy into his native realm, which had been resolutely withstood by the consistent Covenanters ; but he had obtained from Parliament several Acts which went to allow him ecclesiastical supremacy—a power in the Church wholly incompatible with Presbyterian principles. His son Charles, who ascended the throne, March 27, 1625, for the first twelve years after he came to the Crown, was so much occupied with the agitated state of England, that he directed but little of his attention to the ecclesiastical affairs of the ancient kingdom, only ordering the late innovations to be followed out, and enforcing more rigidly those ceremonies his father had so unwisely commenced, which had already spread discontent throughout the whole population, now heightened mightily among the nobles by the not altogether unfounded apprehension that the grants of church lands they had received, were about to be recalled.

When the nation was in this mood, all united against the establishment of Prelacy, considering it as preparatory to the introduction of Popery and despotism, for which the King had evinced his predilection by uniting himself to a Popish consort. Charles, placing himself under the guidance of Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, visited Scotland, accompanied by him in 1633 ; while there Laud celebrated divine worship in the Royal Chapel at Holyrood House, clothed in those

clerical vestments that the Scots had been taught by their first reformers to style "Romish rags," and delivered a sermon in which he expatiated upon the benefit which would be derived from conformity to the English ritual, and went through the English liturgy before an audience consisting chiefly of courtiers, who expressed their approbation at the performance. Grati- fied by their applause, he called the bishops together, enlarged upon the nakedness of the form of worship in Scotland, and proposed to remedy it by introducing a liturgy, and composing certain canons as the regula- tions of public devotions. Nearly three years, how- ever, elapsed before the Book of Canons was completed, but in 1636, they were sent down to be printed at Aberdeen, and ordered to be enforced solely by the royal authority, without being submitted to the cog- nizance of any spiritual or civil court. By them the supremacy of the King and divine authority of the bishops in religious matters were affirmed, thus setting aside the entire ecclesiastical constitution of the coun- try, while they prescribed in the liturgy a number of observances in the divine ordinances irreconcilable with the Scriptural accounts of their original institution. For administering baptism, a font was to be fixed near the church door, as in ancient times, and the water be- fore being used in baptism was to be consecrated by prayer, and afterwards applied on the sign of the cross. For celebrating the eucharist a table was to be placed at the chancel, covered with a handsome stuff carpet, and during the sacred ceremony with a white linen cloth ; the people were to receive the elements from the

priest's hands in a kneeling posture, and what remained of the bread and wine were to be consumed by the poorer sort within the church, as being too sacred to be used on unconsecrated ground. All private meetings of presbyters, or any other persons, for expounding the Scriptures or debating ecclesiastical subjects, were prohibited. No clergyman was to reveal what was told him in confession, unless the concealment of it endangered his own life. Bishops and presbyters who had no children were to leave their effects for pious uses, and those who had, were at least, to bequeath large legacies to the Church. Thanks were then to be returned for departed saints, a number of whom had their names enrolled in the Scottish Kalendar. The introduction of this liturgy was intimated from the pulpits of Edinburgh, on the 16th July 1637. And next Sabbath, July 23, the memorable experiment was tried. On that day, immense numbers of the inhabitants of Edinburgh and persons from the surrounding country, crowded the churches. In St. Giles, where the Chancellor, some of the Lords of Council, and several of the bishops, together with the magistrates, had taken their seats, great quietness prevailed till the Dean, having opened "the book," was proceeding to read the service, when the congregation, losing all patience, particularly the women, whose zeal was most conspicuous, rushed to the desks, when the terrified Dean fled, leaving his surplice behind him, glad to escape. The Bishop of Edinburgh then ascended the pulpit, and endeavoured to allay the tumult, but he too had soon to leave his perilous elevation, amid the cries of "A Pope!

a Pope! Anti-Christ! pull him down!" and thus the service was put to an end.

Heedless of this portentous display of public feeling, the Prelates proceeded to enforce the royal mandate for using the liturgy; they were met by a supplication from Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, one of the most eminent of the Presbyterian leaders, who had himself once favoured Episcopacy. He prayed for a suspension of the charge, "because the new service had neither the sanction of the General Assembly, nor the authority of any Act of Parliament, and too nearly resembled the service of the Church of Rome to be acceptable to the people, even although their pastors should have had no scruples." Similar supplications were presented from leading members of the three Presbyteries of Irvine, Glasgow, and Ayr, recommended by several noblemen and gentlemen to the members of Council, as worthy of their most serious attention.

Numerous applications from various and different quarters of the country to the Council having been unavailing, and the multitudes who assembled proving rather unmanageable, a committee was originated, 1638, consisting of delegates from the nobles, barons, ministers, and cities, divided into separate bodies, who sent four members each to Edinburgh, that formed an executive for the appellants, afterwards well known under the name of THE TABLES.

The Tables.—The members of this political body, guided by the most fervent zeal, enjoying the full confidence of the great majority of the people, venerated as the guardians of pure religion, and as the generous

defenders of civil liberty, were implicitly obeyed, while the decrees of the Council were disregarded or despised. The main object of the Presbyterian leaders now was to preserve the veneration of their followers for "the cause," which they believed to be the cause of Christ and his gospel, and with admirable address they had recourse to what had proved so powerful before—they resolved to renew the Covenants. A fast was appointed, March 1, for humiliation and the solemnization of this important transaction; multitudes rushed to the capital to witness it, although I rather doubt their numbers have been over-rated when stated so high as sixty thousand; yet such was the excitation that it is perhaps hardly fair to doubt.

NATIONAL
COVENANT.
1638.

The subscription was appointed to take place in the Grey Friars' Church, and long before the hour both church and churchyard were crowded. Alexander Henderson opened the meeting with prayer; the Covenant was then read; after which the Earl of Loudon addressed the assembled multitude, dwelt upon the importance of this bond of union, and exhorted them to perseverance in the good cause. The Earl of Rothes called upon any who might have scruples of conscience respecting the object of this meeting to come forward. Few came, and these were speedily satisfied. Silence ensued. The noblemen present then slowly stepped forward and affixed their signatures; after whom the gentry, ministers, and persons of every rank, age, and sex, subscribed and swore. The enthusiasm was universal, every face beamed with joy, and the city presented one scene of devout congratulation and

rapture. "Behold!" says one of the Presbyterian writers, "the nobility, the barons, the burgesses, the ministers, with the commons of all sorts in Scotland, all in tears for their breach of Covenant, and for their backsliding and defection from the Lord, and at the same time returning with great joy unto their God, by swearing cheerfully and willingly to be the Lord's. It may well be said of this day: 'Great was the day of Jezreel. It was a day wherein the arm of the Lord was revealed; a day wherein the princes of the people were assembled to swear fealty and allegiance to that great king whose name is the Lord of Hosts.'"

Amazed at such a powerful expression of public feeling, the Prelates, in this grand triumph of the Covenanters, saw the Episcopalian fabric they had so long laboured to establish, at once crumble to pieces, and the apostate Archbishop of St. Andrews in agony exclaimed—"Now all that we have been doing these thirty years past is at once thrown down!"

The Covenant was signed on the 28th of February. Arrangements were made for obtaining additional signatures without delay. At a meeting on the following day, nearly 300 ministers subscribed it. It was carried through Edinburgh and signed by multitudes with tears of joy. All ranks of society appended their names under mingled feelings of patriotism, love of freedom, and religious duty, till, with the exception of the Lords of Privy Council, and five others of the nobility, the names of the whole Scottish Peerage were attached to the document. In the provinces also it was subscribed with

equal cordiality. No coercion was allowed in order to procure signatures. The matter was so holy says Rothes, that they held it to be irreligious to use wicked means for advancing so good a work. "Some men," we are assured by Henderson, "of no small note, offered their subscription and were refused, till time should show that they joined from love to the cause, and not from fear of man." Zeal for the principles asserted in the bond—principles recognising the paramount rights of conscience in matters of religion, and the claims of constitutional liberty—spread through Scotland, till the most distant counties, Moray, Inverness, Ross, and Caithness, sent in their adhesion to the Covenant.

It was impossible to withstand a movement conducted with such enthusiasm and vigour. The most eminent lawyers of the day on being consulted, gave it as their opinion, that there was nothing decidedly illegal in the Covenant, or the procedure of the Covenanters. The famous Assembly of 1638, met at Glasgow, when Prelacy was overthrown throughout Scotland, as contrary to the usages of primitive and apostolic times, the ancient laws of the realm, and the conscientious judgment of the nation. The Covenant was afterwards ratified by an Act of Parliament in 1640. It was made a test of admissibility to office, and Charles II. at his coronation swore and subscribed it. It was everywhere regarded as the Magna Charta of the civil and religious liberties of Scotland. Nor was the influence of the deed confined to Scotland. The patriots and reformers in England, in their struggle against arbitrary power, adopted the National Cove-

nant as the model and basis of the Solemn League and Covenant among the three kingdoms, so that the former indirectly but powerfully contributed to the great movement in behalf of liberty, which the Long Parliament began, and for a time successfully maintained; what, according to the high authority of Guizot, "founded the power of the Commons," and "caused English society to take a wide step from the monstrous inequality of the feudal system."

It is proper to add that these national deeds were also regarded by the Covenanters under a religious aspect. The great principle on which these bonds proceeded was the duties of nations to own and submit to Christ as the reigning Mediator, the Prince of the kings of the earth.

It followed that the nation in its civil capacity was bound to act in accordance with the law of Christ, and in subserviency to the interests of His kingdom. It is in consequence of this view of these Covenants, that in Scotland some religious denominations to this day retain them among their symbolic deeds and standards. For a long period after the separation from the Established Church, that large portion of the religious community, known formerly by the name of the United Secession Church, held them under certain qualifications. They still continue to express approval of them as needed and warranted in the emergency which they were framed to meet. The Reformed Presbyterian Church, which professes to represent the principles of the Second Reformation, accomplished through the instrumentality of the National Covenant, and which

is descended from a large body who refused to connect themselves with the Established Church at the Revolution in 1688, partly because the Covenants were not recognised in its constitution ; and the United Original Secession Church, an important branch of the great Secession of 1732, continue to own these Covenants, as binding on the nation in the great principles they embody and express. Of late years there has been some discussion in the Free Church of Scotland in regard to the propriety of giving a more formal recognition to the Scriptural and religious aspect of these national vows than what they at present obtain in their ecclesiastical standards. It will thus be seen that the influence of these remarkable bonds and Covenants descends even to the present times.

THE NATIONAL COVENANT.

The Confession of Faith, subscribed at first by the King's Majesty and his household, in the year of God 1580; thereafter by persons of all ranks in the year of God 1581, by Ordinance of the Lords of Secret Council, and Acts of the General Assembly; subscribed again by all sorts of persons in the year of God 1590. Secondly: And with Ordinance of the Lords of Secret Council, and Acts of General Assembly, subscribed again by all sorts of persons in the year of God 1590. Thirdly: And with Ordinance of Council, at the desire of the General Assembly; with their general bond for maintenance of the true religion, and of the King's Majesty; and now subscribed in the year of God 1638, by us, Noblemen, Baronets, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons under subscribed; and, together with a resolution and promise, for the causes after expressed, to maintain the true religion and King's Majesty, according to the Confession aforesaid, and the Acts of Parliament, the so much of which followeth:—

WE all and every one of us under-written, protest, That, after long and due examination of our own consciences in matters of true and false religion, we are now thoroughly resolved in the truth by the Spirit and Word of God: and therefore we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, subscribe with our hands, and constantly affirm, before God and the whole world, that this only is the true Christian faith and religion, pleasing God, and bringing salvation to man, which now is, by the mercy of God, revealed to the world by the preaching of the blessed evangel; and is received, be-

lieved, and defended by many and sundry notable kirks and realms, but chiefly by the Kirk of Scotland, the King's Majesty, and three estates of this realm, as God's eternal truth, and only ground of our salvation ; as more particularly is expressed in the Confession of our Faith, established and publicly confirmed by sundry Acts of Parliaments, and now of a long time hath been openly professed by the King's Majesty, and whole body of this realm both in burgh and land. To the which Confession and Form of Religion we willingly agree in our conscience in all points, as unto God's undoubted truth and verity, grounded only upon his written word. And therefore we abhor and detest all contrary religion and doctrine ; but chiefly all kind of Papistry in general and particular heads, even as they are now damned and confuted by the word of God and Kirk of Scotland. But, in special, we detest and refuse the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist upon the Scriptures of God, upon the Kirk, the civil magistrate, and consciences of men ; all his tyrannous laws made upon indifferent things against our Christian liberty ; his erroneous doctrine against the sufficiency of the written word, the perfection of the law, the office of Christ, and his blessed evangel ; his corrupted doctrine concerning original sin, our natural inability and rebellion to God's law, our justification by faith only, our imperfect sanctification and obedience to the law ; the nature, number, and use of the holy sacraments ; his five bastard sacraments, with all his rites, ceremonies, and false doctrine, added to the ministration of the true sacraments without the word of God ; his cruel judgment against infants de-

parting without the sacrament ; his absolute necessity of baptism ; his blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation, or real presence of Christ's body in the elements, and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men ; his dispensations with solemn oaths, perjuries, and degrees of marriage forbidden in the word ; his cruelty against the innocent divorced ; his devilish mass ; his blasphemous priesthood ; his profane sacrifice for sins of the dead and the quick ; his canonization of men ; calling upon angels or saints departed, worshipping of imagery, relics, and crosses ; dedicating of kirks, altars, days ; vows to creatures ; his purgatory, prayers for the dead ; praying or speaking in a strange language, with his processions, and blasphemous litany, and multitude of advocates or mediators ; his manifold orders, auricular confession ; his desperate and uncertain repentance ; his general and doubtful faith ; his satisfactions of men for their sins ; his justification by works, *opus operatum*, works of supererogation, merits, pardons, peregrinations, and stations ; his holy water, baptizing of bells, conjuring of spirits, crossing, sayning, anointing, conjuring, hallowing of God's good creatures, with the superstitious opinion joined therewith ; his worldly monarchy, and wicked hierarchy ; his three solemn vows, with all his shavellings of sundry sorts ; his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, with all the subscribers or approvers of that cruel and bloody band, conjured against the Kirk of God. And finally, we detest all his vain allegories, rites, signs, and traditions brought in the Kirk, without or against the word of God, and doctrine of this true reformed Kirk ; to the

which we join ourselves willingly, in doctrine, faith, religion, discipline, and use of the holy sacraments, as lively members of the same in Christ our head : promising and swearing, by the great name of the LORD our GOD, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this Kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our vocation and power, all the days of our lives ; under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment.

And seeing that many are stirred up by Satan, and that Roman Antichrist, to promise, swear, subscribe, and for a time use the holy sacraments in the Kirk deceitfully, against their own conscience ; minding hereby, first, under the external cloak of religion, to corrupt and subvert secretly God's true religion within the Kirk ; and afterward, when time may serve, to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hope of the Pope's dispensation, devised against the word of God, to his greater confusion, and their double condemnation in the day of the Lord Jesus : we therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God, and his Kirk, protest, and call the Searcher of all hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our Confession, promise, oath, and subscription : so that we are not moved with any worldly respect, but are persuaded only in our conscience, through the knowledge and love of God's true religion imprinted in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, as we shall answer to him in the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.

And because we perceive that the quietness and stability of our religion and Kirk doth depend upon the safety and good behaviour of the King's Majesty, as upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy granted to this country, for the maintaining of his Kirk and ministration of justice amongst us ; we protest and promise with our hearts, under the same oath, hand-writ, and pains, that we shall defend his person and authority with our goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ his evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this realm or without, as we desire our God to be a strong and merciful defender to us in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ ; to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory eternally. *Amen.*

LIKEAS many Acts of Parliament, not only in general do abrogate, annul, and rescind all laws, statutes, acts, constitutions, canons civil or municipal, with all other ordinances, and practique penalties whatsoever, made in prejudice of the true religion, and professors thereof ; or of the true Kirk, discipline, jurisdiction, and freedom thereof ; or in favours of idolatry and superstition, or of the Papistical kirk : As Act 3, Act 31, Parl. 1 ; Act 23, Parl. 11 ; Act 114, Parl. 12, of King James VI. That Papistry and superstition may be utterly suppressed, according to the intention of the Acts of Parliament, repeated in the 5th Act, Parl. 20, King James VI. And to that end they ordain all Papists and Priests to be punished with manifold civil and ecclesiastical pains, as adversaries to God's true

religion preached, and by law established, within this realm, Act 24, Parl. 11, King James VI.; as common enemies to all Christian government, Act 18, Parl. 16, King James VI.; as rebellers and gainstanders of our Sovereign Lord's authority, Act 47, Parl. 3, King James VI.; and as idolaters, Act 104, Parl. 7, King James VI. But also in particular, by and attour the Confession of Faith, do abolish and condemn the Pope's authority and jurisdiction out of this land, and ordains the maintainers thereof to be punished, Act 2, Parl. 1; Act 51, Parl. 3; Act 106, Parl. 7; Act 114, Parl. 12, King James VI.: do condemn the Pope's erroneous doctrine, or any other erroneous doctrine repugnant to any of the articles of the true and Christian religion, publicly preached, and by law established in this realm; and ordains the spreaders and makers of books or libels, or letters or writs of that nature to be punished, Act 46, Parl. 3; Act 106, Parl. 7; Act 24, Parl. 11, King James VI.: do condemn all baptism conform to the Pope's kirk, and the idolatry of the mass; and ordains all sayers, wilful hearers and concealers of the mass, the maintainers and reseters of the priests, Jesuits, trafficking Papists, to be punished without any exception or restriction, Act 5, Parl. 1; Act 120, Parl. 12; Act 164, Parl. 13; Act 193, Parl. 14; Act 1, Parl. 19; Act 5, Parl. 20; King James VI.: do condemn all erroneous books and writs containing erroneous doctrine against the religion presently professed, or containing superstitious rites and ceremonies Papistical, whereby the people are greatly abused, and ordains the home-bringers of them to be

punished, Act 25, Parl. 11, King James VI. : do condemn the monuments and dregs of bygone idolatry, as going to crosses, observing the festival days of saints, and such other superstitious and Papistical rites, to the dishonour of God, contempt of true religion, and fostering of great error among the people ; and ordains the users of them to be punished for the second fault, as idolaters, Act 104, Parl. 7, King James VI.

Likeas many Acts of Parliament are conceived for maintenance of God's true and Christian religion, and the purity thereof, in doctrine and sacraments of the true Church of God, the liberty and freedom thereof, in her national, synodal assemblies, presbyteries, sessions, policy, discipline, and jurisdiction thereof ; as that purity of religion, and liberty of the Church was used, professed, exercised, preached, and confessed, according to the reformation of religion in this realm : As for instance, the 99th Act, Parl. 7 ; Act 25, Parl. 11 ; Act 114, Parl. 12 ; Act 160, Parl. 13, of King James VI., ratified by the 4th Act of King Charles. So that the 6th Act, Parl. 1, and 68th Act, Parl. 6, of King James VI., in the year of God 1579, declare the ministers of the blessed evangel, whom God of his mercy had raised up, or hereafter should raise, agreeing with them that then lived, in doctrine and administration of the sacraments ; and the people that professed Christ, as he was then offered in the evangel, and doth communicate with the holy sacraments (as in the reformed kirks of this realm they were presently administrate) according to the Confession of Faith, to be the true and holy kirk of Christ Jesus within this realm. And decerns

and declares all and sundry, who either gainsay the word of the evangel received and approved as the heads of the Confession of Faith, professed in Parliament in the year of God 1560, specified also in the first Parliament of King James VI., and ratified in this present Parliament, more particularly do express ; or that refuse the administration of the holy sacraments as they were then ministrated—to be no members of the said Kirk within this realm, and true religion presently professed, so long as they keep themselves so divided from the society of Christ's body. And the subsequent Act 69, Parl. 6, of King James VI., declares, that there is no other face of kirk, nor other face of religion, than was presently at that time by the favour of God established within this realm : “ Which therefore is ever stiled God's true religion, Christ's true religion, the true and Christian religion, and a perfect religion ; ” which, by manifold Acts of Parliament, all within this realm are bound to profess, to subscribe the articles thereof, the Confession of Faith, to recant all doctrine and errors repugnant to any of the said articles, Acts 4 and 9, Parl. 1 ; Acts 45, 46, 47, Parl. 3 ; Act 71, Parl. 6 ; Act 106, Parl. 7 ; Act 24, Parl. 11 ; Act 123, Parl. 12 ; Acts 194 and 197, Parl. 14, of King James VI. And all magistrates, sheriffs, &c., on the one part, are ordained to search, apprehend, and punish all contraveners : For instance, Act 5, Parl. 1 ; Act 104, Parl. 7 ; Act 25, Parl. 11, King James VI. ; and that notwithstanding of the King's Majesty's licences on the contrary, which are discharged, and declared to be of no force, in so far as they tend in any wise to the

prejudice and hinder of the execution of the Acts of Parliament against Papists and adversaries of true religion, Act 106, Parl. 7; King James VI. On the other part, in the 47th Act, Parl. 3, King James VI., it is declared and ordained, Seeing the cause of God's true religion and his Highness's authority are so joined, as the hurt of the one is common to both, that none shall be reputed as loyal and faithful subjects to our Sovereign Lord, or his authority, but be punishable as rebellers and gainstanders of the same, who shall not give their confession, and make their profession of the said true religion: and that they who, after defection, shall give the confession of their faith of new, they shall promise to continue therein in time coming, to maintain our Sovereign Lord's authority, and at the uttermost of their power to fortify, assist, and maintain the true preachers and professors of Christ's religion, against whatsoever enemies and gainstanders of the same; and namely, against all such, of whatsoever nation, estate, or degree they be of, that have joined or bound themselves, or have assisted, or assist, to set forward and execute the cruel decrees of the Council of Trent, contrary to the true preachers and professors of the word of God; which is repeated, word by word, in the articles of pacification at Perth, the 23rd of February 1572; approved by Parliament the last of April 1573; ratified in Parliament 1587, and related Act 123, Parl. 12, of King James VI.; with this addition, "That they are bound to resist all treasonable uproars and hostilities raised against the true religion, the King's Majesty, and the true professors."

Likeas, all lieges are bound to maintain the King's Majesty's royal person and authority, the authority of Parliaments, without the which neither any laws or lawful judicatories can be established, Acts 130 and 131, Parl. 8, King James VI., and the subjects' liberties, who ought only to live and be governed by the King's laws, the common laws of this realm allenary, Act 48, Parl. 3, King James I. ; Act 79, Parl. 6, King James IV. ; repeated in the Act 131, Parl. 8, King James VI. ; which if they be innovated and prejudged, "the commission anent the union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, which is the sole act of the 17th Parl. of King James VI. declares," such confusion would ensue as this realm could be no more a free monarchy : because, by the fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, and liberties of this kingdom, not only the princely authority of his Majesty's royal descent hath been these many ages maintained, but also the people's security of their lands, livings, rights, offices, liberties, and dignities preserved. And therefore, for the preservation of the said true religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom, it is statute by the 8th Act, Parl. 1, repeated in the 99th Act, Parl. 7, ratified in the 23rd Act, Parl. 11, and 114th Act, Parl. 12, of King James VI., and 4th Act, Parl. 1, of King Charles I.—"That all Kings and Princes at their coronation, and reception of their princely authority, shall make their faithful promise by their solemn oath, in the presence of the eternal God, that enduring the whole time of their lives, they shall serve the same eternal God to the uttermost of their power, according as he hath required in his

most holy word, contained in the Old and New Testament ; and according to the same word, shall maintain the true religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his holy word, the due and right ministration of the sacraments now received and preached within this realm, (according to the Confession of Faith immediately preceding,) and shall abolish and gainstand all false religion contrary to the same ; and shall rule the people committed to their charge, according to the will and command of God revealed in his foresaid word, and according to the laudable laws and constitutions received in this realm, nowise repugnant to the said will of the eternal God ; and shall procure, to the uttermost of their power, to the Kirk of God, and whole Christian people, true and perfect peace in all time coming : and that they shall be careful to root out of their empire all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, who shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God of the foresaid crimes.” Which was also observed by his Majesty, at his coronation in Edinburgh, 1633, as may be seen in the order of the coronation.

In obedience to the commandment of God, conform to the practice of the godly in former times, and according to the laudable example of our worthy and religious progenitors, and of many yet living amongst us, which was warranted also by Act of Council, commanding a general band to be made and subscribed by his Majesty’s subjects of all ranks ; for two causes : one was, For defending the true religion, as it was then reformed, and is expressed in the Confession of Faith above written, and a former large Confession established by sundry

acts of lawful General Assemblies and of Parliaments, unto which it hath relation, set down in public Catechisms ; and which hath been for many years, with a blessing from Heaven, preached and professed in this Kirk and kingdom, as God's undoubted truth, grounded only upon his written word. The other cause was, For maintaining the King's Majesty, his person and estate ; the true worship of God and the King's authority being so straitly joined, as that they had the same friends, and common enemies, and did stand and fall together. And finally, being convinced in our minds, and confessing with our mouths, that the present and succeeding generations in this land are bound to keep the foresaid national oath and subscription inviolable.

We Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons under-subscribing, considering divers times before, and especially at this time, the danger of the true reformed religion, of the King's honour, and of the public peace of the kingdom, by the manifold innovations and evils, generally contained, and particularly mentioned in our late supplications, complaints, and protestations ; do hereby profess, and before God, his angels, and the world, solemnly declare, That with our whole hearts we agree, and resolve all the days of our life constantly to adhere unto and to defend the foresaid true religion, and (forbearing the practice of all novations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the Kirk, or civil places and power of kirkmen, till they be tried and allowed in free Assemblies and in Parliament) to labour, by all means,

to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it was established and professed before the foresaid novations. And because, after due examination, we plainly perceive, and undoubtedly believe, that the innovations and evils contained in our supplications, complaints, and protestations, have no warrant of the word of God, are contrary to the articles of the foresaid Confession, to the intention and meaning of the blessed reformers of religion in this land, to the above-written Acts of Parliament ; and do sensibly tend to the re-establishing of the Popish religion and tyranny, and to the subversion and ruin of the true reformed religion, and of our liberties, laws, and estates ; we also declare, That the foresaid Confessions are to be interpreted, and ought to be understood of the foresaid novations and evils, no less than if every one of them had been expressed in the foresaid Confessions ; and that we are obliged to detest and abhor them, amongst other particular heads of Papistry abjured therein. And therefore, from the knowledge and conscience of our duty to God, to our King and country, without any worldly respect or inducement, so far as human infirmity will suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God for this effect ; we promise and swear, by the GREAT NAME OF THE LORD OUR GOD, to continue in the profession and obedience of the aforesaid religion ; and that we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that power that God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life.

And in like manner, with the same heart, we declare

before God and men, That we have no intention nor desire to attempt any thing that may turn to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the King's greatness and authority ; but, on the contrary, we promise and swear, That we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread Sovereign the King's Majesty, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the fore-said true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom ; as also to the mutual defence and assistance every one of us of another, in the same cause of maintaining the true religion, and his Majesty's authority, with our best counsel, our bodies, means, and whole power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever ; so that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in general, and to every one of us in particular. And that we shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn, by whatsoever suggestion, combination, allurements, or terror, from this blessed and loyal conjunction ; nor shall cast in any let or impediment that may stay or hinder any such resolution as by common consent shall be found to conduce for so good ends ; but on the contrary, shall by all lawful means labour to further and promote the same : and if any such dangerous and divisive motion be made to us by word or writ, we, and every one of us, shall either suppress it, or, if need be, shall incontinent make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated. Neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries, from their craft and malice, would put upon

us ; seeing what we do is so well warranted, and ariseth from an unfeigned desire to maintain the true worship of God, the majesty of our King, and the peace of the kingdom, for the common happiness of ourselves and our posterity.

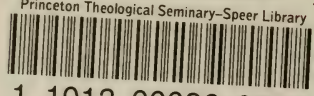
And because we cannot look for a blessing from God upon our proceedings, except with our profession and subscription we join such a life and conversation as bescemeth Christians who have renewed their covenant with God ; we therefore faithfully promise for ourselves, our followers, and all others under us, both in public, and in our particular families, and personal carriage, to endeavour to keep ourselves within the bounds of Christian liberty, and to be good examples to others of all godliness, soberness, and righteousness, and of every duty we owe to God and man.

And, that this our union and conjunction may be observed without violation, we call the **LIVING GOD, THE SEARCHER OF OUR HEARTS**, to witness, who knoweth this to be our sincere desire and unfeigned resolution, as we shall answer to **JESUS CHRIST** in the great day, and under the pain of God's everlasting wrath, and of infamy and loss of all honour and respect in this world : most humbly beseeching the **LORD** to strengthen us by his **HOLY SPIRIT** for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with a happy success ; that religion and righteousness may flourish in the land, to the glory of **GOD**, the honour of our King, and peace and comfort of us all. In witness whereof, we have subscribed with our hands all the premises.

The article of this Covenant within written and within subscribed, which was at the first subscription referred to the determination of the General Assembly, being now determined, on the fifth of December, 1638, and hereby the five articles of Perth, the government of the Kirk by bishops being declared to be abjured and removed, and the civil places and power of kirkmen declared unlawful, we subscribe according to the determination of the said lawful and free General Assembly, holden at Glasgow.

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